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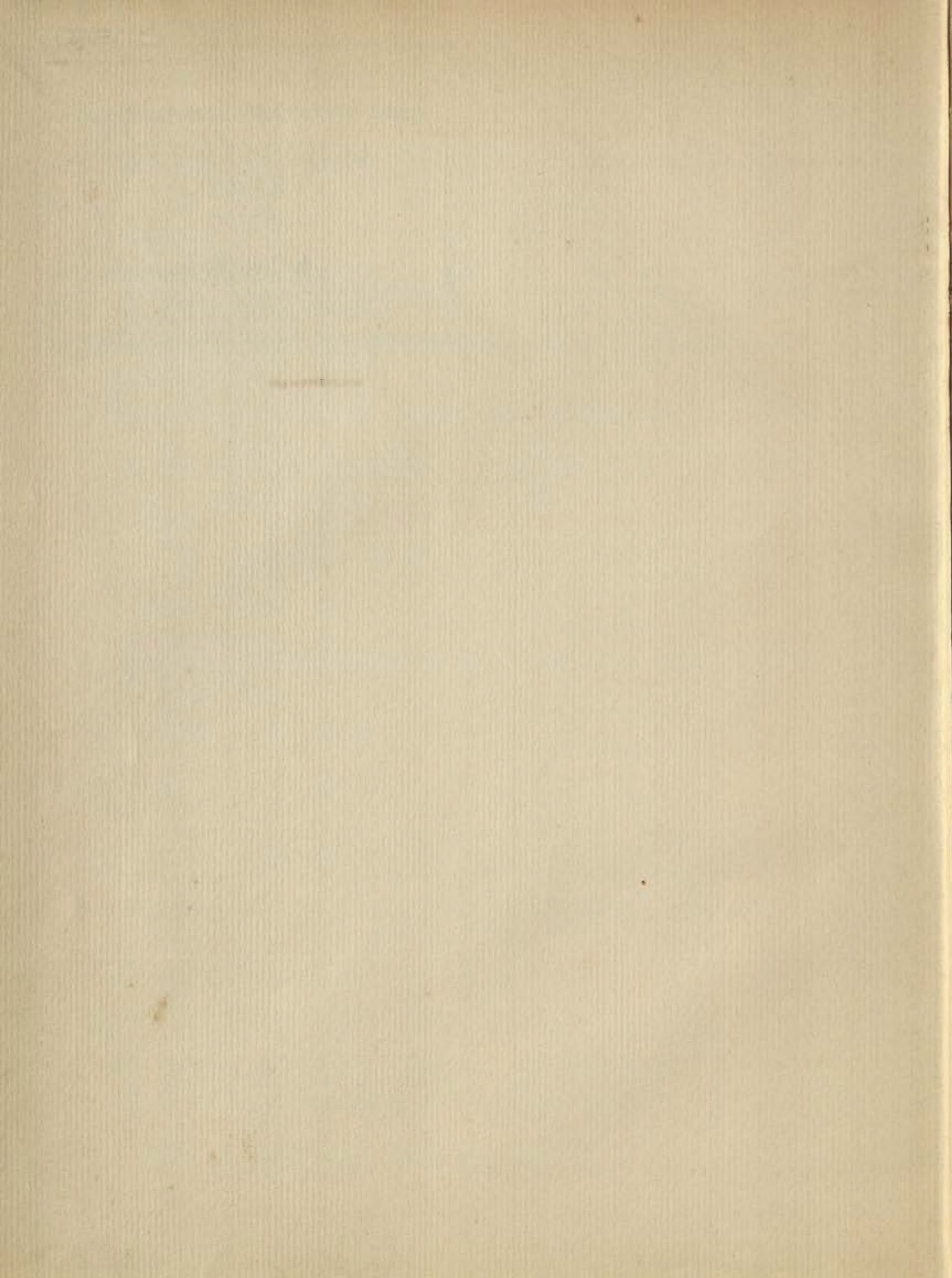
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LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

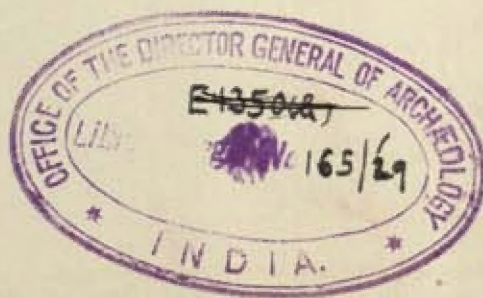
VOLUME I

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PREFACE

THE research of recent years in the domain of Indian art has brought to light a number of new facts and thus placed our knowledge on a new foundation. This clarification of knowledge is in the first instance due to systematic excavations undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India, and in no mean degree to the personal merit of Sir John Marshall, who has enlarged and developed the inheritance of the great pioneer Alexander Cunningham. Cunningham had started his work under most unfavourable circumstances. Out of the dispersed debris of an obscure past he had, together with James Fergusson and James Burgess, erected a foundation upon which present research is continuing to build. Many corrections were of course necessary, but on the whole the plan had been laid with surprising correctness.

But it was the methodical and consequently more exact work of the Archaeological Survey which furnished those immovable results with the aid of which science is enabled to continue its work. Many things which had only been guessed at have now become a certainty and in very many cases irrefutable fact has taken the place of hypothesis. The results of the annual excavation were made known to the world through the excellent Annual Reports.

As is usually the case in the history of the art of Asia, the epigraphist came to the aid of the archaeologist, placing the results of his research at the disposal of the history of art. On account of numerous linguistic and epigraphic difficulties this field will always remain a domain reserved for the philologist and the native scholar.

In accordance with their fundamental character, the Annual Reports always contain a number of essays dealing with themes wide apart both as regards time and subject. The majority of articles are special essays concerned with a definite local unity and pursuing its history through various epochs. Those who wish to derive any information from the Annual Reports will have to possess a considerable amount of preliminary knowledge and an acquaintance with the subject treated which alone will enable them to combine the analogous and to insert the new in the right place. For the Reports never contain and never pretend to contain anything but raw material, though it be furnished

in its purest form. The need therefore of a comprehensive exposition soon made itself felt, and in 1911 Vincent Smith met this requirement with his well-known work (1).

Smith's method may roughly be characterized as follows: Definite conceptions of the style of early times, of the Gupta period, of the Middle Ages and of subsequent periods had grown up, and in accordance with these rather crude notions and ideas the mass of existing material was examined and all that was akin and related was brought together. For artistic problems Smith cared but little.

Then William Cohn gave a good Survey of the essentials in the text of his *Indian Plastic Art* (2).

In the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, Sir John Marshall has started his work with a brief résumé of our knowledge of the first three centuries of Indian Art (3).

Besides these objective works, there is a class of books which devote their attention to the psychological comprehension of Indian art. They endeavour to elucidate the peculiarities of the spiritual suppositions which will thus explain the particularity of form. To the latter works belong, in the first place, the publications of Havell (4), and to a certain extent also the writings of Coomaraswamy (5) and a few others (6).

The intention of the above-mentioned works is quite laudable, but unfortunately they all fall into the error of trying to interpret works of art only on the basis of expression. They pay too little attention to the fact that the forms of expression are subject to considerable fluctuations, and that at various times, in spite of the identity of intentions, the same motif was represented in different ways.

In other words, the fact has not been grasped that in Indian art there are general strata of artistic conceptions, that every period has its boundaries beyond which the artist never proceeded. The first pre-Christian century represents differently from the second of the Christian era; the seventh century feels and executes in a manner different from that of the eighth; and during the subsequent century the decorative scheme once more changes fundamentally. No matter what is being represented, the "How" within a given period is always identical. To the relationship of form there corresponds a

relationship of spiritual import, and only when this fact has been grasped can one proceed with the explanation of the particularities of a work as far as form and expression are concerned.

The problems here referred to have been given special attention in the present work, which represents a cohesive presentation of early Indian sculpture. There is no lack of special works dealing with particular periods. The writings of Cunningham (7), Mitra (8), Marshall (9), Vogel (10), Burgess (11), and Rea (12) have sufficiently explained the various stages. Hitherto, however, a full and comprehensive exposition has been wanting. Smith disposes of the entire period very summarily, and instead of elucidating the problem, rather confuses it by a difficult arrangement; while in the *Cambridge History of India*, Marshall, compelled by external circumstances, breaks off in the midst of the subject.

The time period which will be dealt with in the present work extends over five centuries; in round figures it deals with the period from 300 B.C. to A.D. 200. The limits are not arbitrary. The beginnings are lost in the dim and distant past from which but little has come down to us, while the end borders upon the Gupta period during which that important change in the Indian spirit had taken place. The fact of this change had for a long time been known to philology, and must probably have found its expression even earlier in plastic art, certainly more sharply and unequivocally, for it was in the III century that sensualism was for ever divorced from spiritualism.

This sensualism – an Indian sensualism – embraces as a spiritual bond the productions from Bārḥūt to Amarāvati, and represents an inner link which can be broken only at the expense of a clear insight.

Within these boundaries three phases can be distinguished: an early period, full of confusion and contradiction; a middle or golden period, full of order and strength; and a late period, full of exuberance both in form and outlook. One of our chief tasks was to describe as exactly as possible these three phases of artistic creation, to conceive clearly their peculiarities and thus render them of use for our perception and understanding.

A space, larger than was originally intended, is occupied by the discussion of North-West Indian plastic art. Herr Alfred Grünwedel, in his authoritative chapter dealing with the Gandhāra sculptures, had already traced the path which was afterwards pursued with such rare perseverance by Mr.

Alfred Foucher (13). The admirable results of the life-work of the latter are laid down in his *L'Art gréco-bouddhique* (14). Now both Grünwedel and Foucher have studied the art of North-Western India from a quite definite angle of vision: they have examined it exclusively from the point of view of iconography, and in this respect science is indebted to them for most valuable information. There is, however, a whole series of other problems the solution of which is not less pertinent. To these belongs above all the question of the historical position of the Gandhāra plastic art. It is of paramount interest for serious research to elucidate the beginnings and the development of this art so important for Buddhist Asia. Everything is in a state of fluctuation and without dates, leaving the door open for the most daring hypotheses.

With the help of numismatic discoveries an attempt has been made to reach firm historic ground.

The results thus obtained led to the possibility of once more taking up an attitude with regard to one of the most important questions of Buddhist iconography, the Buddha representation in North-West, North and South India.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to all those who have given me the benefit of their assistance by word and deed. I will mention above all Miss Stella Kramrisch in Calcutta, Dr. William Cohn and Geheimrat von Le Coq in Berlin, Monsieur Joseph Hackin in Paris, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in Patna, Sir John Marshall for the Archaeological Survey in India, Geheimrat Scherman in Munich, Dr. F. W. Thomas in London, and Professor J. Ph. Vogel in Leyden.

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER.

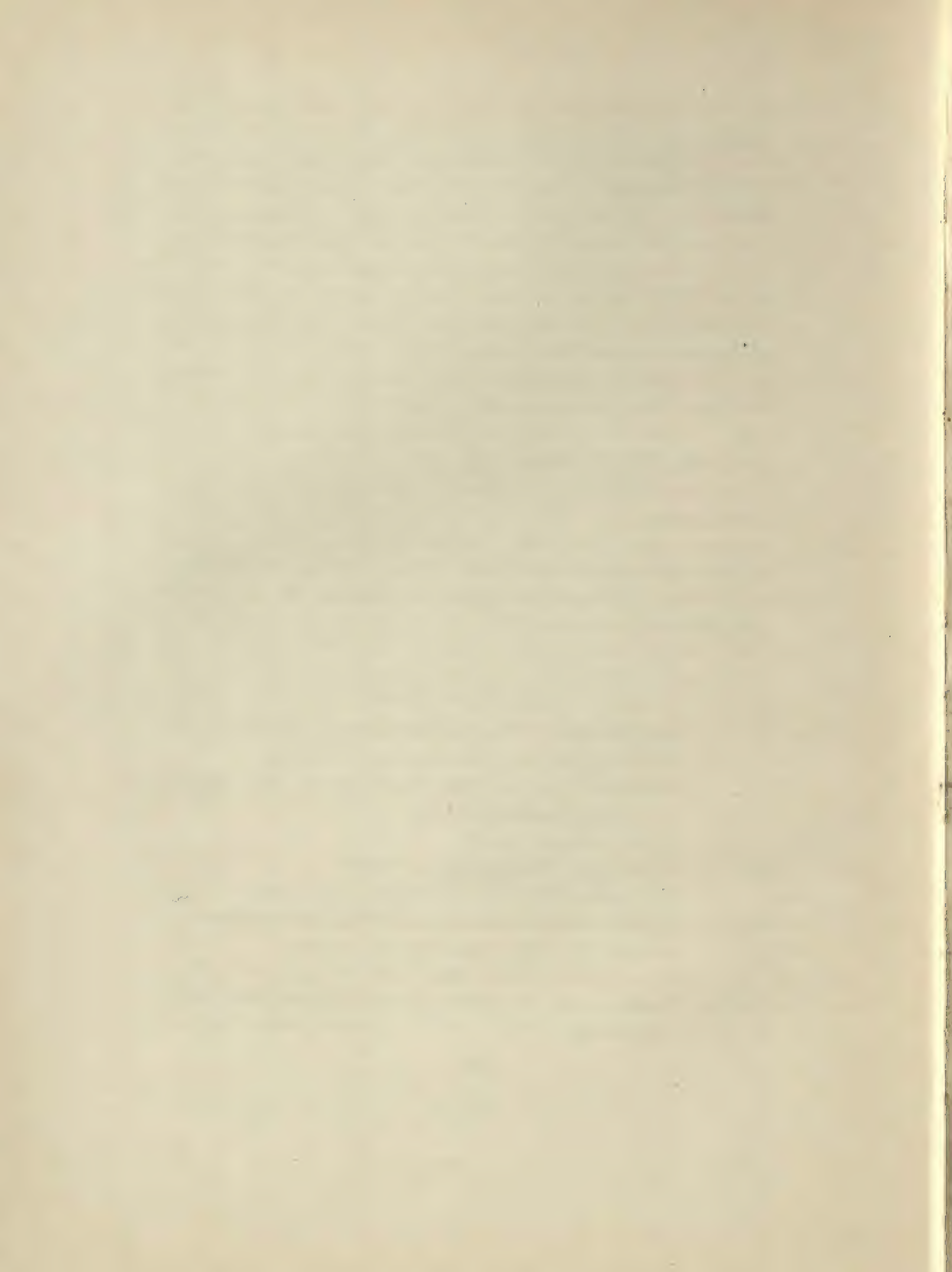
NOTES

- 1] VINCENT A. SMITH, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911.
- 2] WILLIAM COHN, *Indische Plastik*, 1st edition, Berlin, 1921.
- 3] JOHN MARSHALL, "The Monuments of Ancient India," Chapter xxvi in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, 1922. I also came across the

- new work of COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Leipzig, 1927, only when the present book was already in the press. This also applies to K. DE B. CODRINGTON's *Ancient India*, London, 1926.
- 4] E. B. HAVELL, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, London, 1908; *The Ideals of Indian Art*, London, 1911; *A Handbook of Indian Art*, London, 1921.
 - 5] A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Aims of Indian Art*, Broad Campden, 1908.
 - 6] STELLA KRAMRISCH, *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, Hellerau.
 - 7] ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bārḥūt*, London, 1879; *Mahabodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple of Bodh Gayā*, London, 1892.
 - 8] RAJENDRALAL MITRA, *Bodh Gayā*, Calcutta, 1878.
 - 9] JOHN MARSHALL, *The Monuments of Sānchī*, A.S.R. 1913-14, pp. 1 ff.; *A Guide to Sānchī*, Calcutta, 1918.
 - 10] J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, I.A.S.R., 1906-7, pp. 137 ff.; II.A.S.R., 1909-10, pp. 63 ff.
 - 11] JAMES BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887.
 - 12] ALEXANDER REA, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894.
 - 13] A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, 1st ed., Berlin, 1893.
 - 14] A. FOUCHER, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Tome 1, Paris, 1905; Tome II, Paris, 1918-23.

ABBREVIATIONS

- | | |
|------------|---|
| AGB . | . Alfred Foucher: <i>L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra</i> . |
| A.S.R. | . Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports. |
| C.H.I. | . Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. <i>Ancient India</i> , ed. E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922. |
| J.A. . | . <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , Leyden. |
| J.A.S.B. | . <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> . |
| Jāṭaka | . <i>The Jāṭaka</i> , ed. Cowell. Cambridge, 1895-1907. |
| J.B.O.R.S. | . <i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> , Patna. |
| J.R.A.S. | . <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , London. |
| O.Z. . | . <i>Ostasiatische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin. |
| Z.D.M.G. | . <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig. |



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 Height: c. 2·14 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*
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 Height: c. 2·14 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*
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 Left: Outside. King Prasenajit of Kosala visits the Buddha in the Jetavana cloister. The pattern of the hedge which usually separates the different panels is here included in the representation. Middle: History of the Nāga king Erapata. Since time immemorial it had been the wish of Erapata to abjure a sinful life and to lead a holy one. Once he met a Yakṣa at the Court of the Nāga king Sagara who told him of an inscription which could only be read after the birth of a Buddha and interpreted by the latter. Thereupon the two Nāga princes took a girl of extraordinary beauty and some rich presents, and placing themselves at a frequented spot on the Ganges, offered the girl and the presents to one who would interpret the inscription, for it could then be read. At that time there lived the Brahman Narada, who feared to lose his reputation as a sage if he failed to interpret the inscription. He himself received instruction from Buddha, who was at that time dwelling in the park of stags of Benares. When he later on gave the explanation to the two Nāgas, he bared his right shoulder and bowed in the direction where the Buddha was dwelling; the girl and the presents he refused. Erapata,

however, was more interested to find the Buddha than to obtain the explanation of the inscription. He therefore betook himself to the Sublime One, first in the shape of a gigantic serpent and then in that of a young Manava, and worshipped him. (Cf. S. Real, *The Romantic Legend of Buddha*, London, 1872, pp. 276 ff.). Bottom: According to the inscription the fig-tree Bahuhastika upon the mountain Nadodha Bahuhastika = bahavo hastino yatra sah, "where many elephants dwelt". (Cf. Hultzs, Z.D.M.G. 1886, No. 86.) Over the remains of two human figures: Sisupala the kodya, and Vedyuka the gardener.

Middle: Inner Side. Top: The Enlightenment (cf. pp. xxvi and 23). Middle: According to the inscription, the Sudhavasa gods in the Eastern quarter of heaven are here represented. (Cf. Hultzs, *l.c.*, No. 47). Bottom: Dance of the Apsaras. "The music of the gods delighting by sport and dance." The names of the four heavenly dancers: Misrakesi, Subhadra, Padmavati and Alambusa, are engraved by the side of their figures. (Cf. Hultzs, *l.c.*, No. 50.)

Right: Edge. Top: Adoration of a stūpa. Here a four-panelled, lion-crowned capital without the wheel of the Law appears. Middle and Bottom: Two founders.

Height: c. 2.14 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

24. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Left: Corner jamb of Northern gate. Middle of the 11 Century B.C. Vidhura Purnaka Jātaka (cf. p. 24).

Right: Corner jamb of Western gate, "Ajataśatru jamb". Middle of the 11 Century B.C.

Top: The worship of the hairlock of the Sublime One in the heaven of the thirty-three gods. According to the inscription, "Sudharma, the hall where the gods forgather." (Cf. Hultzs, *l.c.*, No. 78.) When Gautama abdicated worldly life he cut off his hair and threw it into the air. Indra caught it up and brought it into the heaven of the thirty-three gods, of which he was the ruler.

Middle: According to the inscription, The Annunciation. "The angel Arhadgupta descends from heaven and announces to the great assembly the imminence of the conception of the Sublime." (Cf. Hultzs, *l.c.*, No. 80.) "If, after one thousand years, an omniscient Buddha is to be

born in the world, then the angels, who guard the world, wander about and loudly proclaim: 'Ye men, after the lapse of one thousand years, counted from now, a Buddha will be born to the world.' " (Cf. *The Jāṭaka*, ed. Cowell, Vol. I, p. 48.)

Bottom: Ajataśatru Visits the Sublime One. Ajataśatru, the son of King Bimbisara, had been persuaded by Devadatta, a cousin of Gautama, to commit the sin of parricide. As nothing could deliver him of his remorse, he decided to visit the Buddha; the sage Jivaka and his guard of amazons accompanied him. When he arrived in the vicinity of the Sublime, he alighted from his elephant and enquired of Jivaka who of the many monks was the Buddha, although he had recognized the latter at the first glance. When Ajataśatru stood before the Sublime he recognized his greatness and bowed before him.

Height: c. 2.14 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

25. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Stone hedge. Fragments of beams. Middle of the II Century B.C.

Top: Outside.

Bottom: Inner Side. The scenes have not yet been interpreted.

Height: 0.43 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

26. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Stone hedge. Parts of beams. Inner side. Middle of the II Century B.C.

Top: Dabbhapuppha Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 400). In one of his former existences the Bodhisattva was the spirit of a tree standing on the banks of the Ganges. A couple of jackals were living near by. One day, the female desiring fresh fish, the male went out in search of it. On the way he was invited by two otters to act as arbitrator because they could not agree as to the distribution of a fish they had caught. The jackal gave the head of the fish to the one and the tail to the other, keeping the best middle piece for himself as fee for his trouble. The scene to the right has not yet been interpreted.

Bottom: Left. Bhisā Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 448). During one of his former existences the Bodhisattva had retired to the Himalaya in company of his six brothers and one sister, after having distributed his immense inherit-

ance. Each of the brothers had in turn to provide food. Gathering fruit and lotus stalks, he divided it into portions and placed them on a certain spot where everyone could fetch his own portion whenever he pleased. Sakka (Indra), who wished to test the Bodhisattva, took away his portion during three days. The Bodhisattva summoned his brothers and sister so as to obtain an explanation. An ape and an elephant who were dwelling near by also came. When all had protested their innocence, Sakka appeared and returned the lotus stalks he had stolen.

The scene to the right has not yet been interpreted. The inscription says: Vedyuka milks "Katha", on the mountain Nadodha (cf. Lüders' list, Ep. Ind. X, No. 707).

Height: 0.43 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

27. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Stone hedge. Fragments of beams. Middle of II Century B.C. Top: The scene to the left has not yet been interpreted; to the right, Dubhiya Makhala Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 174). In a certain street there was a well where the passers-by were in the habit of drawing water for the animals living in the neighbourhood. When after a long time the Bodhisattva was first to pass, he gave drink to an ape who was sitting near the well tortured by thirst. The animal proved very ungrateful, and trying at first to frighten the Bodhisattva by his grimaces, ultimately soiled him. The scenes at the bottom which have not yet been interpreted no doubt represent various episodes of the same story, because the usual separations of the representations by means of fantastic plant decorations are missing. Height: 0.43 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

28. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Middle of the II Century B.C. Two relief plinths. The Adoration of the Buddha, symbolized by the wheel of the Law and a stūpa. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

29. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Stone hedge. Three tondi from the rafter and a scene from the beams. Middle of the II Century B.C.

Top: Left: Female bust. Right: Chhaddanta Jāṭaka (cf. p. 41).

Bottom: Left: Kurugamiga Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 206). An antelope, a tortoise and a woodpecker were living in close friendship. One day the antelope found itself in a trap. The tortoise had just begun to gnaw through the meshes when the hunter approached; but the woodpecker, who was

considered as a bird of ill omen, blocked his way until the liberation had been completed.

Bottom: Right: Mahabodhi Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 528). An ascetic, having gained the favour of a king, rose to a high position. This aroused the envy of his colleagues, who planned his death. Warned by a dog, he packed up his belongings with the intention of going away. The royal pair approach and the sage succeeds in establishing the infamy of his enemies. Height of the tondi: 0.49 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo Indla Office.*

30. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Four tondi of the stone hedge. Middle of the II Century B.C.

Top: Left: Mahakapi Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 417). The Bodhisattva was once born as the prince of a gigantic herd of apes who were dwelling upon a mango tree on the banks of the Ganges. King Brahmadata of Benares caused the tree to be transplanted with a view to killing the apes. The Bodhisattva seized a tree on the opposite bank, and thus formed a bridge over which the entire herd could pass and escape. Devadata, however, his hostile cousin, rushed with such force at the prince of the apes that he broke his spine. The spirit of sacrifice of the Bodhisattva had so touched Brahmadata that he nursed the dying one, who as a reward gave him a number of admonitions. Right: The conception or the dream of Maya. Maya, the future mother of Gautama, sees the Buddha descend in the shape of a white elephant. During her pregnancy the four guardians of the world guarded her couch. One of them has here taken over the rôle of the three others.

Bottom: Left: Episode from the Mahamagga Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 546). Amara, the spouse of the Bodhisattva during one of his former existences, has summoned to her, during the absence of her husband, the latter's enemies. She causes all of them, who, in expectation of some gallant adventure, had in the darkness stolen one by one into the house, to be packed up in mats. She then had them brought into the presence of the king, thus proving her own purity and the innocence of her husband. Right: Ruru Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 482). A suicide who had thrown himself into the Ganges was saved by the Bodhisattva, who had then been born as a gold gazelle. The miscreant betrayed the whereabouts of the rare animal to

the King Brahmadatta. Instead of trying to escape, the Bodhisattva came up to the hunting king and enlightened him with regard to the ingratitude of the man he had saved.

Height of tondi: 0.49 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

31. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Four tondi from the stone hedge. Middle of the 11 Century B.C.

Top: Right: The legend of the Jetavana garden. The merchant Anathapindika had invited the Buddha to Śravastī. In search of a dwelling worthy of him he had found the garden of Prince Jeta. The clever owner asked a rather high price for it, namely as many gold pieces as would cover the whole garden. Anathapindika consented and erected in the garden the famous Jetavana cloister. The founder appears twice, once while he is superintending the laying out of the gold pieces and once as he is pouring some water from a jug to consecrate the ground. The water is supposed to flow over the hands of the Buddha, who is here symbolized by the hedged-in tree. Left: Unknown scene. Apes are leading an elephant.

Bottom: Left: Unknown scene. Apes with the assistance of an elephant are drawing out the teeth of a man. Right: Female bust.

Height of tondi: 0.49 m. India Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

32. STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Four tondi with male and female busts from the stone hedge. Middle of the 11 Century B.C. Height of tondi: 0.49 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo India Office.*

33. Top: STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT. Fragment of middle architrave from Eastern gate. Middle of the 11 Century B.C. Indian Museum. *Photo India Office.*

Bottom: STONE HEDGE FROM BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Inner Side. 100-50 B.C.

Jamb 1-2. In the semicircle to the left the visit of Indra to Buddha in the Indraśaila cave is represented. Indra and the Buddha are not represented. The harp player is Panchaśikha, the leader of the heavenly musicians, the Gandharvas. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

34. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Corner post of the Southern tract. Outside view. 100-50 B.C. The railing of Bodh Gayā encloses a big rectangle in the midst of which the temple stands. The jamb, as is shown by

Plate 36, was altered at a later time. The beautiful group of a man who is helping a young girl to climb up a tree, seems, at the first glance, to belong to a later stylistic phase; but a more minute examination shows that the motion is seen from the outside and is not felt from the interior. Herein the work resembles the reliefs of the semicircle and the frieze of the running animals on the inner side of the beams. The manner also in which the forms are spread out on the level points to an earlier time of production. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

35. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Outside view of jambs 1-4. 100-50 B.C. Height of jamb: *c.* 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
36. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Inner view of jambs 1-5. 100-50 B.C. Height of jambs: *c.* 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
37. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Outside view of jambs 4-7. 100-50 B.C. On jamb 6 in semicircle the Buddha is shown walking upon the face of the waters of the River Nairanjana and converting the Brahman Kaśyapa. Height of jamb: *c.* 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
38. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Inside view of jambs 4-10. 100-50 B.C. Height of jambs: *c.* 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
39. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Left corner jamb of North-Eastern tract. Indra as the Brahman Śanti. 100-50 B.C. Height: 1.71 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
 Right: A single jamb on the North side of temple. Female figure. A similar female figure of the same style was discovered at Rajasan (Bihar and Orissa). (Cf. A.S.R. 1918-19, Part 1, Pl. 19/b.) *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
40. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Inside view of jambs 6 and 8. 100-50 B.C. Height of jambs: *c.* 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
41. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Inside view of posts 27 and 5. 100-50 B.C.

In the semicircle of jamb 5 (to the right) Padakusalamanava Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 432). When Brahmadata was King of Benares his principal wife betrayed him. When questioned, she replied: "If I betray thee may I become a Yakṣi with the head of a horse." So it actually happened after her death, when she lived in the desert and devoured the passers-by. One day a handsome Brahman passed with whom she fell in love. Dragging him into her cave she bore him a son. Father and son later on left her, whereupon her heart broke.

Height of posts: c. 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

42. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Reliefs: 100–50 B.C.

Top: Left: The Jetavana Legend (cf. Plate 31). (Southern tract, jamb 10.) Right: The goddess Lakṣmi. According to Foucher, the birth of the Buddha is here symbolized. (Southern tract, jamb 8.)

Bottom: Left: Sujata worships the Bodhisattva, who is seated beneath the sacred tree of Uruvela. As customary, the Bodhisattva is not represented. (Southern tract, jamb 9.)

Right: Male busts. (Southern tract, jamb. 2.)

Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.

43. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Corner jamb of North-Western tract (68). Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Left: View from the West. The Atlantes in the upper panel are the natural further development of the identical motif at Bārḥūt. (Cf. Pl. 23–24.)

Right: View from the North. In the second panel the sun god Surya on his chariot. The conception is not influenced by the hellenistic version, where Helios with his quadriga is always shown in a bevel view; it rather shows the change of the old Indian motif into the new severely tectonical style of the period. An older version is shown in Plate 65.

Height: c. 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

44. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Corner jamb of South-Western tract. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Left: View from the South.

Right: View from the West.

Height: c. 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

45. STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ. Southern tract. Corner jamb (22) at the opening. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C. Height: c. 1.70 m. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

46. SĀNCHĪ. Southern gate of great stūpa. Outside view. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C. During the reconstruction in 1882/3 the upper and the lower architraves were inverted, so that the less important reliefs are placed towards the outside.

Upper architrave: According to Foucher the birth of the Buddha is here depicted and consequently Maya, the mother of the Sublime, is standing in the middle, flanked by two elephants sprinkling water over her. Personally I consider the old interpretation as the happier one, which saw in the figure the goddess of fortune Lakṣmi. The change of an eventful design into a purely decorative filling out of surface lay outside the limits of conception of this period.

Middle architrave: Aśoka visits the stūpa at Ramagrama. The foundation inscription of Balamitra. Upon the left volute-end Mudupāṇi Jāṭaka is perhaps illustrated (cf. Plate 56 and page 64).

Lower architrave: Decorative filling out of middle panel, on both ends peacocks.

Left jamb: Upper panel: The first sermon in the park of stags at Benares and the visit of Aśoka are illustrated. Second panel: Aśoka and his suites *Photo India Office.*

47. SĀNCHĪ. Southern gate of great stūpa. Inside view. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Upper architrave: The six Buddhas of the past and Gautama Buddha, symbolized by three stūpas and four trees. At both ends, Kanthaka, the horse of Gautama.

Middle architrave: Chhaddanta Jāṭaka (cf. p. 41).

Lower architrave: The war of relics. From the right the Lichchhavis, Ajataśatru, the Śākya, the Balis, the Kolyas, the Mallas of Pava, and a Brahman advance against Kusinara for the purpose of recapturing the relics of the Buddha from the Mallas of Kusinara. In the middle the siege of the town and to the left the departure of the victors are illustrated.

48. SĀNCHĪ. Northern gate of the great stūpa. Outside view. Latter half of

the 1 Century B.C. This gate has best retained its plastic ornamentation. On the upper and middle architraves the seven Buddhas are represented. Lower architrave, right end of volute: Alambusa Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 523). During one of his former existences the Bodhisattva was an ascetic with whom a doe had fallen in love. A son was born to the odd couple and he had a unicorn. As years passed by, he became so virtuous that the gods grew afraid. Sakka therefore sent the heavenly dancer Alambusa to seduce the youth: an effort in which she easily succeeded. After a happiness which lasted three years she revealed to him her heavenly origin and returned to Sakka.

On the large middle panel: Vessantara Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 547). During his penultimate existence the Bodhisattva was born as Prince Vessantara, who distinguished himself by his great liberality.

The story begins to the right: Vessantara gives away his white elephant and takes leave of his parents before proceeding with his family to the desert. Carriage and horses are then left to several Brahmans and the journey is continued on foot. In vain the Cheta princes try to detain him; he and his retire to a hermitage.

The story is continued on the verso of the architrave.

Left jamb: Upper panel: The adoration of the throne. Second panel: The cloister Jetavana at Śravastī. Third panel: An open hall, perhaps that of Śravastī. Fourth panel: A king, Prasenajit according to Marshall, leaves a town accompanied by his suite. Lower panel: The paradise of Indra?

Right jamb: Upper panel: The descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three where his mother Maya had been reborn. In the middle the heavenly leaders, flanked by Indra and Brahma. Second panel: Departure of a prince from a town, perhaps the departure of Śuddhodana from Kapilavastu. Third panel: The miracle of Kapilavastu. Before the eyes of his father, Śuddhodana the Buddha rises up in the air. The scene is probably connected with the next one on the inner side of the jamb.

Photo India Office.

49. SĀNCHĪ. Northern gate of the great stūpa. Inside view. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Upper architrave: Chhaddanta Jāṭaka (cf. p. 41). The version stands

between the chatty narrative of the Southern gate and the pure configuration of the Western gate.

Middle architrave: The Temptation. Mara, the evil one, sits near the middle and sends his beautiful daughters towards the Sublime under the Bodh tree; to the left of Mara are his demons, personifications of human passions.

Lower architrave: Continuation of the Vessantara-Jāṭaka. Quite to the right, the prince with his wife and children in the wilderness. In the middle panel, at the right edge, the hut which Sakka has got ready for him; farther down to the left, Vessantara makes a present of his children to the Brahman Jujaka, while the mother is kept at a distance. An archer, sent by the Cheta princes as a secret protector, aims at Jujaka, who appears again at the lower edge, just as he is driving away the children. Farther down to the left Vessantara gives also away his wife; but with the assistance of the gods wife and children are restored to him. On the left end of the volute are seen the children in the palace of their grandparents.

Photo India Office.

50. SĀNCHĪ. Eastern gate of the great stūpa. Outside view. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Upper architrave: The seven Buddhas.

Middle architrave: Departure of Gautama from Kapilavastu, his native town. As long as Gautama is imagined to be seated upon his horse Kanthaka, the animal is carried by genii so that the noise of the hoofs may not wake the relatives.

Lower architrave: Aśoka visits the Bodh tree at Bodh Gayā.

Left jamb: In the two upper panels the Enlightenment of the Sublime is illustrated. Third panel: The Buddha walks upon the River Nairanjana, for the purpose of converting the Brahman Kaśyapa. Lower panel: King Bimbisara leaves the town Rajagriha on a visit to the Buddha.

Right jamb: On the top the lowest of the Brahmaloḥas is represented; then follow the six lower heavens of the gods (Devaloḥas).

Photo India Office.

51. SĀNCHĪ. Eastern gate of the great stūpa. Inside view. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Upper architrave: The seven Buddhas.

Middle architrave: The Enlightenment.

The animals and fabulous beings are intended to show the power obtained over all beings in consequence of the enlightenment; the serpent is perhaps to remind of the episode when the Nāga king Mucilinda protected the Sublime against the rain.

Lower architrave: Elephants worship a stūpa, perhaps that of Ramagrama.

Photo India Office.

52. SĀNCHĪ. Western gate of the great stūpa. Outside view. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Upper architrave: The seven Buddhas.

Middle architrave: The first annunciation of the Law in the park of stags at Benares.

Lower architrave: Chhaddanta Jāṭaka (cf. p. 41).

Left post: Upper panel: The paradise of Indra?

Right jamb: Upper panel: Mahakapi Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 417) (cf. Plate 30).

Second panel: The Sermon in the Tuṣita Heaven. Third panel: Scene of adoration. Fourth panel: Three lions and over them the inscription of the founder Balamitra.

Photo India Office.

53. SĀNCHĪ. Western gate of the great stūpa. Inside view. Close of the 1 Century B.C.

Upper panel: The Malla king brings back the relics of Buddha to Kusinara.

Middle panel: The war of relics (cf. Plate 47).

Lower architrave: The Temptation. The temple of Bodh Gayā, which appears in the middle, was first erected by Aśoka; to the right, the flying host of Mara; to the left, the worshipping gods approach. With regard to the supposed anachronism of the scenery, cf. pp. 24f, 44.

Photo India Office.

54. SĀNCHĪ. Stūpa III. Close of the 1 Century B.C. In this stūpa were preserved the relics of Sariputta and Mahamogalana, the most famous disciples of Buddha. The railing has disappeared. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

55. SĀNCHĪ. Gate of stūpa III. Outside view. Close of the 1 Century B.C. The picture shows the heap of ruins out of which Marshall has ingeniously reconstructed the stūpa.
 Upper architrave: The cross-beam has been put in wrongly. Decorative filling with garlands and dwarfs.
 Middle architrave: Five Buddhas in the middle panel and the two ends. If we add the two Buddhas of the upper architrave which now, owing to the wrong insertion, appear on the verso, we obtain the full number of the seven Buddhas.
 Lower architrave: The heaven of Indra. In the middle, the hall of Indra and in front of it the River Mandakini; to the left and to the right the wilderness, and at the edges of the middle panel Nāga kings under five-headed serpents whose bodies extend to the ends of the architraves above the "false capitals", forming the volute.
 Left jamb: Top: Adoration of a stūpa; below, worshippers.
 Right jamb: Top: Adoration of a lion-column; below, worshippers.
 Height: c. 5.20 m. *Photo India Office.*
56. SĀNCHĪ. Gate of stūpa III. Inside view. Close of the 1 Century B.C.
 Upper architrave: Two Buddhas.
 Middle and lower architraves: Decorative filling. On the ends of the lower cross beam the Mudupāṇi Jāṭaka has possibly been illustrated (cf. Plate 46 and page 64). *Photo India Office.*
57. SĀNCHĪ. Western gate of the great stūpa. Close of the 1 Century B.C.
 Left post: Inner side.
 Upper panel: Syama Jāṭaka. Syama, the son of blind parents, was shot dead by the King of Benares while he was drawing water. Moved by the remorse of the prince and by the grief of the parents, Indra resuscitates the boy and restores the sight of their eyes to his parents.
 Second panel: The Enlightenment. Under the throne and the Bodh tree is the Nāga king Mucilinda.
 Right jamb: Outside. Decorative filling. Characteristic of this time are the great fullness of the forms and the clear construction.
Photo India Office.
58. SĀNCHĪ. Eastern gate of the great stūpa. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Left: Figure of guardian on the inner side of left jamb. After the plaster cast in Museum of Ethnology at Berlin.

Right: Right jamb. Inner side.

Upper panel: Adoration of the Buddha by his father, King Śuddhodana.

Second panel: The dream of Maya and the return of the Sublime to Kapilavastu (cf. pp. xxiv, 44).

Figure of watchman.

59. SĀNCHĪ. Eastern gate of the great stūpa. Front view of the two jambs. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Left: The right jamb. Right: The left jamb.

With regard to the representation, cf. Plate 50.

Photo India Office.

60. SĀNCHĪ. Northern gate of the great stūpa. Details of the left jamb. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Left: Inner side. Upper panel: Indra visits the Buddha in the Indraśaila cave near Rajagriha. The cave is represented as a rock temple. Second panel: A king, probably Bimbisara or Ajataśatru, leaves Rajagriha. Third panel: The bamboo grove Venuvana, near Rajagriha.

Right: Outside.

Photo India Office.

61. YAKṢI OF BESNAGAR. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C. Height: 1.90 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

62. MANIBHADRA YAKṢA. Pawaya (Gwalior). Latter half of the 1 Century B.C. *Sandstone*. Life size. Gwalior Museum. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

63. BHĀJĀ (PUNA). Two figures of watchmen from the rock vihara 1 Century B.C.

A vihara is a dwelling for monks and mostly consists of a series of cells into which access is gained through a veranda. The ideal plan consisted of a quadrangular court round which the cells were disposed. In the case of rock viharas, which frequently had several storeys, the cells were arranged in one suite.

The West Indian viharas were Buddhistic. Bhājā belongs to the oldest constructions.

Photo D.G.A.S.I.

64. BHĀJĀ (PUNA). Reliefs of the veranda of the rock vihara. First half of the 1 Century B.C.

The upper relief of the West side of the veranda most probably represents the sun god Surya with his two wives, whose four-in-hand is carried by a demon.

The contents of the second relief have not been interpreted.

Photo India Office.

65. Top: BHĀJĀ (PUNA). Chaitya hall and vihara caves. Beginning of the 1 Century B.C.

Chaitya was originally the designation of the stūpa which was worshipped by walking round it, and the name was subsequently applied to the Buddhistic hall enclosing such a stūpa. The rock chaityas of West India are the transformation of wooden constructions into the living rock.

Bottom: KONDANE. Chaitya cave. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.

Photo India Office.

66. KĀRLĪ. Chaitya cave. 1 Century B.C. *Photo India Office.*

67. KĀRLĪ. Chaitya cave. Reliefs upon the back wall of the entrance hall. 1 Century A.D.

Only the two rigid and clumsy couples by the side of the entrances are of the 1 Century A.D. The remaining reliefs belong to a much later period.

Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.

68. KĀRLĪ. Chaitya cave. Reliefs of the back wall of the entrance hall. 1 Century A.D.

Here, too, the remarks made for Plate 67 hold good. The two couples are evidently by one hand, and are incomparably maturer and finer than their neighbours (Plate 67).

Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.

69. KĀRLĪ. Inside of chaitya hall. Beginning of the 11 Century A.D. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

70. NASIK. Two caves.

Top: Cave III. First quarter of the 11 Century A.D. On the Eastern wall are inscriptions indicating the foundations of Śrī Śātakarṇi Gautamiputra, dated in the years 18 and 24 of his reign. Above the entrance are inscrip-

tions of Śrī Pulumavi Vaśisthiputra, dated in the years 19 and 22 of his reign (cf. Senart, *Ep. Ind.* VIII).

Bottom: Cave X. A.D. 120-123. The cave is often designated as Cave VIII; and according to Senart it should bear the number X (cf. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 78, Pl. IV/X). On the back side of the veranda there is a foundation inscription of Ushavadata, to one of his wives, a daughter of Nahapana. Donation of a cell in the year 42 of the Śaka era by Ushavadata = A.D. 120. Confirmation of the donation of the year 41 (!) in the year 45 = A.D. 123.

Photo India Office.

71. MATHURĀ. Two relief fragments. Latter half of the II Century B.C. Height of left fragment: 0.38 m. Height of right fragment: 0.40 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*

72. MATHURĀ. Front and back side of a toraṇa architrave. I Century B.C. Top: Adoration of a stūpa by centaurs. Bottom: Riders on horses and in chariots. Provincial Museum, Lucknow. *Photo Prov. Mus., Lucknow.*

73. MATHURĀ. Support of a toraṇa architrave. First half of the I Century A.D. From Kankali Tila, Mathurā. Height: 2.57 m. Provincial Museum, Lucknow. *Photo Prov. Mus., Lucknow.*

74. MATHURĀ. Āmohinī relief. A.D. 14. Such plates, which were erected in the Jaina temples for the adoration of the Arhats, were called ayagapata. The name of Aryavati which occurs in the inscription is perhaps the name of the goddess represented; the name of the lady patron is Āmohinī, dated in the year 72 of the Vikrama era = A.D. 14.

Height: 1.15 m. Provincial Museum, Lucknow. *Photo Prov. Mus., Lucknow.*

75. MATHURĀ. I Century A.D.

Left: Female figure. In its type it shows a certain similarity to the principal figure of the "Āmohinī relief", but the forms are more massive and heavier. Right: Male figure. Here we have a rustic work of an advanced phase of style.

Height: 1.09 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*

76. MATHURĀ. Statue of Kaniṣka. *c.* A.D. 80. Height: 1.63 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
77. MATHURĀ. Statue of V'ima Kadphises. A.D. 84.
 The more than life-size work was executed according to the inscription in the year 6 of the Kaniṣka era, and is a posthumous mark of honour.
 Note particularly the close relationship of the form with that of the Bodhisattva statue, Plate 79, dated in the third year of Kaniṣka.
 The prince is seated upon the lion-throne, and the drapery with its sewn-on plaquettes is very closely related to the old Central Asiatic Scythian dress.
 Height: 2.08 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
78. MATHURĀ.
 Left: Side view of the statue of V'ima Kadphises. A.D. 84.
 Right: Statue of Chastana. The mean and scanty form relates this work with the two other portrait statues.
 For the inscription, cf. J.B.O.R.S., VI.
 Height: 1.22 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
79. SĀRNĀTH. Bodhisattva of Mathurā. The statue is by a monk named Bāla, and it was erected and dated in the third year of the Kaniṣka era = A.D. 81.
 Height: 2.48 m. Museum, Sārnāth. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
80. SĀRNĀTH. Bodhisattva torso. A.D. 78-81.
 The summary treatment of the upper part of the body and the customary folding-back of the drapery on breast and arm date this figure earlier than the statues of the year A.D. 81. A lion set up between the legs of the figure points to the fact that it is meant to be the "lion of the Śākya race", that is to say the historical Bodhisattva, Gautama.
Bistre Chunar sandstone. Height: 1.83 m. Museum, Sārnāth. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
81. MATHURĀ. The Bodhisattva of Katra. *c.* A.D. 100.
 This is the only completely preserved example of a Buddhist stele. The transition from the single figure to a group seems to have taken place very soon. The absolute domination of the principal figure is obtained by relegating the companions to a clearly marked secondary plane. Compared to a work (Pl. 82) like that of the Munich Museum the

progress towards unity of effect is striking. Instead of the usual red sandstone of the Mathurā plastic art a black sandstone is here employed. Height: 0·69 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*

82. MATHURĀ. Fragment of a Buddha-Bodhisattva with companion. A.D. 80-100.

Transition from single figure to group; notice should be taken of the left intersection: Behind the raised right arm the torso of a second companion is visible. Closely crowded composition.

Height: 0·69 m. Museum of Ethnology, Munich. *Photo Bruckmann.*

83. MATHURĀ. Left: Buddha torso of Anyor. A.D. 80-100.

According to the inscription, the Buddha is here represented. It is probably the oldest specimen of a seated Buddha-Bodhisattva of Mathurā, a single figure of a particularly high quality.

Height: 0·84 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

Right: Torso of a Bodhisattva with companions. A.D. 117; dated in the year 39 of the Kaniṣka era=A.D. 117.

84. MATHURĀ.

Left: Buddha from Sitala Ghati. c. A.D. 130. In its plastic drapery-edges this specimen follows the North-West Indian scheme more closely than the proximate one, where the folds are engraved. Height: 0·45 m.

Right: Buddha from Set Mahet. A.D. 130. The short and stumpy figures of the socle are closely related to the figures of the Jaina socle of the year 49 of the Kaniṣka era=A.D. 127. (Plate 87 below.)

This is to be reckoned as a Buddha of the North-West type in the Museum at Mathurā, which must bear the date "year 22" (see p. 108, note 13, and cf. A.S.R. 1919/20, Plate 17, p. 41).

85. MATHURĀ.

Left: Bust of Bodhisattva Maitreya. A.D. 130-150. In contradistinction to previous times the Bodhisattva now appears as a richly arrayed prince. Height: 0·35 m. Formerly in collection of E. Guttman, Munich.

Right: Bodhisattva torso, A.D. 130-150. Ornamentation and dress closely follow North-West Indian prototypes, while in the conception of the body the work faithfully adheres to the indigenous tradition. The folding of the hands on the bosom, signifying meditation (dhyana mudra),

developed under the influence of the North-West: previously, the right hand was raised as a pledge of protection (abhaya mudra). Height: 0.65 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

86. MATHURĀ.

Left: Buddha. A.D. 130-140. Height: 0.81 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*

Right: Buddha on the lotus throne with two companions. Height: 0.38 m. Provincial Museum, Lucknow. *Photo Prov. Mus., Lucknow.*

87. MATHURĀ.

Top: Fragments of a frieze with the seven Buddhas. Shortly before A.D. 129. Height: 0.30 m.

Bottom: Socle fragment of the statue of Arhat Nandyavarta (Jaina). From Kankali Tila, near Mathurā. Dated in the year 49 of the Kaniṣka era=A.D. 127. Height: 0.40 m.

Provincial Museum, Lucknow. *Photo Prov. Mus., Lucknow.*

88. MATHURĀ. Bodhisattva Maitreya, A.D. 130-150. Height: 0.61 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*

89. BODH GAYĀ. Buddha from Mathurā, A.D. 142.

With regard to the designation of the statue as Bodhisattva in the inscription, cf. p. 55 and p. 109, note 19. The specimen is dated in the year 64 under the reign of Maharaja Trikamata (Lüders' list, No. 949). This ruler must have been a vassal of Vasudeva, the style of the statue excluding a date after the 11 Century A.D.

Height: 1.18 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

90. MATHURĀ.

Top: Left: Bodhisattva head. Height: 0.16 m. A.D. 130-150. Right: Bodhisattva head. Height: 0.17 m. A.D. 130-150.

Bottom: Left: Jina head. Height: 0.24 m. A.D. 130-150. Right: Buddha head: Height: 0.26 m. IV-V Centuries A.D.

The Jina head was formerly in the collection of Edgar Guttman; the three Buddhist heads are in the Museum of Ethnology at Munich.

91. MATHURĀ. The "Holi relief". Close of the 1 Century A.D.

Judging from style and conception the work must be younger than the

"Āmohinī relief". The inscription indicates that it is the foundation of a pious courtesan.

Height: 0.73 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

92. MATHURĀ. Two jambs from Bhutesar. c. A.D. 130.

Height: c. 1.40 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

93. MATHURĀ. Two jambs from Bhutesar. c. A.D. 130. Height: c. 1.40 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

94. MATHURĀ. Versos of three jambs from Bhutesar. c. A.D. 130.

Left: Back of jamb, Plate 92/left. Scenes from the Vessantara Jāṭaka, cf. Plates 48-49. Vessantara meets the Brahman and hands the children over to him; the mother on her return does not find the children.

Middle: Back of jamb, Plate 93/left. Valahassa Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 196). Shipwrecked merchants are thrown upon an island inhabited by Yakṣinis. They live with the female demons, who reveal themselves as man-eaters. The Bodhisattva, then born as a winged horse, saves those merchants who had implored his help, while the others who had persisted in their delusion are one day devoured by the Yakṣis.

Right: Back of jamb, Plate 93/right. Sibi Jāṭaka. The Bodhisattva, born as Sivaraja, saves a dove from a hawk, offering to the bird of prey a piece of his own flesh equal to the weight of the dove.

Photo D.G.A.S.I.

95. MATHURĀ. Two jamb fragments. First half of the 11 Century A.D. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

96. MATHURĀ. Two jambs. First half of the 11 Century A.D. The figure to the left represents Kubera, and is a clear proof of the confusion of this figure with that of Pancika. Height of Kuvera jamb: 0.98 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*

97. MATHURĀ.

Left: Nāga Statue from Chargaon. Dated in the year 40 of the Kanishka era = A.D. 118.

Right: The so-called "Heracles with the Nemean lion". As far as the human body is concerned, the motif goes back to the Apollo Lycaeus of the Praxiteles cycle. Hellenism was fond of it, particularly when representing the drunken Dionysius leaning upon one of his companions on his left. Such a bacchic representation - we have only to remember

- Mathurā's predilection for such scenes – has probably served as the prototype for this group. First half of the 11 Century A.D.
Height: 0.75 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
98. MATHURĀ. Jamb figure. First half of the 11 Century A.D. Height: 0.80 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*
99. MATHURĀ. Three jamb fragments. First half of the 11 Century A.D.
Left: Verso of jamb, Plate 98. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*
100. MATHURĀ.
Left: Genie scene from a double-sided relief. Height: 0.27 m.
Right: Jamb of a miniature railing. Height: 0.51 m. First half of the 11 Century A.D.
Museum of Ethnology, Munich. *Photo Bruckmann.*
101. MATHURĀ.
Left: Statue of Jina Adinatha. Dated in the year 84 of the Kaniṣka era = A.D. 162. Height: 0.89 m. Though one cannot speak in the 11 Century A.D. of a thoroughly stiff or numbed condition of Jaina sculpture, the stiffening and the coarsening of the form as it appears in this work seems to be characteristic of the style of Mathurā sculpture after A.D. 150. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
Right: Jamb fragment from Kankali Tila. First half of the 11 Century A.D. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
102. MATHURĀ. Fragment of a door panel. First quarter of the 11 Century A.D. Front and back side view. Height: 1.00 m. Provincial Museum, Lucknow. *Photo Provincial Museum, Lucknow.*
103. MATHURĀ. Fragment of door panel. A.D. 117–129.
Left: Top: Adoration of the alms-box of Buddha. Middle: Adoration of the Buddha. Bottom: Adoration of the Bodhisattva.
Right: Top: Adoration of the hair-lock in the heaven of the thirty-three. Middle: Adoration of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Height: 0.94 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
104. MATHURĀ. Torāṇa architrave. Previous to A.D. 129. Front and back view.
On the two upper parts the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indraśaila cave is depicted; below is the adoration of the Bodh tree.
Height: 0.19 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

105. MATHURĀ.
 Top: Part of a frieze. First half of the II Century A.D. Height: 0.75 m.
 Bottom: Part of a frieze. Height: 0.28 m.
 Museum, Mathurā. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
106. MATHURĀ. Fragments of a pilaster and a column. A.D. II Century.
 Height: 1.06 m. each. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Vogel.*
107. JAGGAYYAPETA. Two fragments of the stūpa panelling. Middle of the II Century B.C.
 The stūpa of Jaggayyapeta was situated in the vicinity of the village of the same name at a distance of about thirty English miles North-West of Amarāvati. The ruins have for a long time been utilized as a stone quarry and only little could be saved.
 Left: Adoration of the throne in a hall.
 Right: The ruler of the world, Chakravartin, with his seven ornaments: Wheel, Wife, Horse, Jewel, Minister, General, Elephant.
 Height: 1.30 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
108. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragments of an old beam from a railing. 100-50 B.C.
 The representations are closely connected in style with the beams of Bodh Gayā. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
109. AMARĀVATĪ.
 Left: Relief plinth. 100-50 B.C. Height: c. 1.45 m.
 Right: Torso of a worshipper. c. 100 B.C. Height: c. 1.10 m.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
110. AMARĀVATĪ. Covering plinth of stūpa. Latter half of the II Century A.D. Representation of a stūpa with hedge and gates. Height: c. 1.90 m.
 British Museum, London. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
111. AMARĀVATĪ.
 Left: Jamb from the outer railing, outside. End of the I to beginning of the II Century A.D.
 Compare the clear structure and the easy progressive tempo of the ornaments with the following solutions. Height: 2.41 m.
 Right: Fragment of a pilaster. Behind the empty throne rises a richly constructed column which originally bore the wheel of the Law. On

account of the heaviness of the forms the work must be placed at least in the beginning of the 11 Century. Height: 2.12 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

112. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragments of a beam. Beginning of the 11 Century A.D. The fragment below has retained the inscription of foundation which in its character seems to be a little older than the inscription with the name of Śrī Pulumavi. (Cf. Burgess, *Amarāvati*, Plate 56/1 and 51/2.) The flower decoration, too, goes together with that of the jamb, Plate 111/left. Height: c. 0.70 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

113. AMARĀVATĪ. Post from the outer railing. First half of the 11 Century A.D. Left: Inner side. In the middle one of the three panels, inserted between the complete and the half-lotus rosette, the Mora Jātaka is illustrated (cf. p. 62).

Right: Outer side. The decoration has now become richer, more animated, and between the lotus rosettes figures of dwarfs appear.

Height: 2.27 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

114. AMARĀVATĪ. Post from the outer railing. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. Left: Inner side.

Right: Outside.

The violently agitated scenes, with the exception of the well-known representations of adoration, have not yet been interpreted. Notice should be taken that the lotus leaves are no longer exactly divided, and that the more deeply executed intersection lends a tension to the whole, increased and heightened by the agitation of figure and ornamentation. Particular attention is called to the panels in the corners and to the decoration of the lower closing fillet.

Height: 2.70 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

115. AMARĀVATĪ. Jamb from the outer railing. A.D. 150-200.

Left: Inner side. In the tondo, the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven, with underneath, in the middle panel, Chakravartin with his seven ornaments (cf. plate 107). The remaining scenes have not been interpreted.

Right: Outside.

Height: 2.25 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

116. AMARĀVATĪ. Tondo of a post from the outer railing. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. It is possible that here the meeting of Gautama with his future wife, Gopa, is represented. This period uses foreshortening and curtailment for purposes of perspective, and to attain the effect of spatial illusion. If it is true that here, and in the other relief, this illusion appears only in certain conditions, the reason must be sought less in the plastic elements than in the unfavourable lighting. In sharp over-light, the spots between the figures disappear, and a dark foil, thin-leafed, will appear, producing the desired effect. Compare with Plate 125 (the only photo which was taken in the open in the tropical sunlight): the difference in the artistic impression is strong. Height: 0.84 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo Musée Guimet.*
117. AMARĀVATĪ. Two tondi of posts from the outer railing. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. Left: Musical entertainment. The broken appearance of the relief is explained by the faults of the lighting. Light and shadows bind the components into a single whole with the impression of space. Right: Nāgas worship the relics of Buddha at the stūpa of Ramagrama. Height: 0.84 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
118. AMARĀVATĪ. Two tondi of posts from the outer railing. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. Top: Chhaddanta Jāṭaka. Cf. p. 41. Bottom: Adoration of the alms-box of the Buddha in the heaven of the thirty-three. Height: 0.84 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
119. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragment of a post from the outer railing. First half of the 11 Century A.D. The scenes have not been interpreted. *Photo Musée Guimet.*
120. AMARĀVATĪ.
 Top: Relief plinth. Women in the bath. First half of the 11 Century A.D. Observe the close connection in style with the Yakṣis of the Bhutesar jambs of Mathurā, Plates 92-93. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
 Left: Fragment of beam from outer railing. Uninterpreted scene. Middle of the 11 Century A.D.
 Right: Footprints of Buddha with worshippers. Latter half of the 1 Century B.C.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

121. AMARĀVATĪ. Parts of the outer railing.
 Top: Two fragments of the beam. Middle of the 11 Century A.D.
 Height: c. 0.78 m.
 Bottom: Fragment of corner jamb at the Northern gate. Beginning
 of the 11 Century A.D. Height: c. 1.55 m.
 Right: Upper part of a jamb. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. Height:
 c. 1.30 m.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
122. AMARĀVATĪ. Parts of the outer railing.
 Top: Two fragments of the beam. On the left is seen the infant Gautama
 with his father Śuddhodana and the seer Asita. Middle of the 11 Century
 A.D. Height: 0.78 m.
 Bottom: Two jamb fragments. The heavy forms of the left fragment
 point to a date at the beginning of the century. Height: 1.60 m.; 1.25 m.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
123. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragment of beam. Middle of the 11 Century A.D.
 Top: Inner side. Distribution of relics.
 Bottom: Outside.
 Height: 0.78 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
124. AMARĀVATĪ. Two fragments of beam from the outer railing. Out-
 side. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. The upper representation shows the
 outside of the fragment, Plate 125. Height: 0.78 m. Museum, Madras.
Photo India Office.
125. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragment of beam. Middle of the 11 Century A.D. Inner
 side. The scenes have not yet been interpreted. To the right on the top
 the five first disciples of the Sublime One are perhaps represented; below
 is the birth of Rāhula, his son. Height: 0.78 m. Museum, Madras.
Photo India Office.
126. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragments of beam from the outer railing. Middle of the
 11 Century A.D.
 Top: The principal scene is not interpreted; on the top to the left the
 death of the Sublime One is perhaps represented.
 Bottom: Left: The dream of Maya; the four guardians of the world
 watch over her couch.
 Height: 0.78 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*

127. AMARĀVATĪ.
 Left: Relief plinth. Adoration of the Buddha. Latter half of the 11 Century A.D.
 Right: Fragment of beam from the outer railing. Uninterpreted scene.
 Middle of the 11 Century A.D. Height: 0.78 m.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
128. AMARĀVATĪ. Two jambs of the inner railing. Latter half of the 11 Century A.D.
 Left: The conversion of Nanda. The Buddha allures his half-brother from his Beloved by causing him to catch a glimpse of the perfect goddess maidens, which destroys his longing for her. Observe the geometrically clear ornamentation of the dividing bars. The stone is squared on both sides. Height: c. 1.25 m.
 Right: The various episodes from the life of the Sublime One are read here from bottom to top. The departure upon the horse Kanthaka is first represented, then follows the temptation by the daughters of Mara – significant for the tendency of the time is the fact that the terrible demons have been entirely omitted – and on the top the first sermon in the park of stags at Benares is given. Height: c. 1.10 m.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
129. AMARĀVATĪ. Two plinths from the stūpa panelling. Latter half of the 11 Century A.D. Height: 1.45 m.
 Left: Adoration of a stūpa by Nāgas and Nāginis. Right, as seen from bottom to top: Adoration of the Buddha, adoration of the wheel of the Law; a third panel with a stūpa is missing. The whole is intended to illustrate the formula: "the Buddha, the Law and the community."
 Height: 1.57 m.
 Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
130. AMARĀVATĪ. Fragment of a frieze. Middle of the 11 Century A.D.
 In the motif is a miniature railing, broken up by scenic representations, adoration of the wheel, and the stūpa, and the dream of Maya. The elephant is placed in the concluding fillet. Here, too, a strengthening in the ornamentation is to be noticed; instead of the fluctuating

motion, the garlands fall down gently. Museum, Madras. *Photo Musée Guimet.*

131. AMARĀVATĪ. Three fragments. Latter half of the II Century A.D. The two lower fragments evidently belong to the frieze of a covering plinth. New are the griffons' heads as consoles. On the middle piece the representation of Rāhula is depicted; below, Gautama is leaving the women's apartments, is riding forth on his horse; and Kanthaka, the horse, his servant Chandaka and genii are bewailing his parting from worldly life. On the top the six Buddhas of the past are represented. Height: 0.27 m. Museum, Madras. *Photo India Office.*
132. ANURĀDHAPURA (CEYLON). ABHAYAGIRI DAGOB. Two stelæ. II Century A.D. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
133. KHAṆḌAGIRI (ORISSA). Ananta Cave. Two door frames. 100-50 B.C. The viharas in the East of India were destined for Jaina monks. The most important rock verandas are found in the neighbouring hills of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa. Between the door openings and the plastic ornamentation there is not the slightest structural connection. In style the reliefs are related to Bodh Gayā. For the inscriptions of these cave groups, cf. R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. XIII, pp. 159 ff.; further, A.S.R. 1922/3, pp. 129 ff.; J.B.O.R.S. VI, p. 389. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
134. UDAYAGIRI (ORISSA). Manchapuri cave. Part of frieze. Beginning of the I Century A.D. The cave has received different names from various authors: Vaikunthagabha, Vaikunthapura, Svargapura, Patalapuri. Elephants and foliage show a close connection with Sānchī. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*
135. UDAYAGIRI (ORISSA). Rānī Cave. Lower storey. Frieze above the entrances. I Century A.D. The shape of the animal capitals above the peculiar pilasters, the lowest figures and certain details, such as the tree and the rendering of the architecture (top to the left), are reminiscent of the later reliefs of Sānchī; the strong agitation of the groups points, however, to a somewhat more

recent origin, which the crude workmanship should not be allowed to conceal. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

136. UDAYAGIRI (ORISSA). Rānī Cave. Lower storey. Pieces from the frieze. Beginning of the 1 Century A.D. *Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.*

137. UDAYAGIRI (ORISSA).

Top: Ganeśa Cave. Piece from the frieze. Close of the 1 to beginning of the 11 Century A.D.

Bottom: Rānī Cave. Lower storey. Piece from the frieze. Close of the 1 to beginning of the 11 Century A.D.

The violent motion of the dancers goes far beyond the measure demanded by the motif; the relief belongs to the time of transition.

Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.

138. UDAYAGIRI (ORISSA). Rānī Cave. Upper storey. Pieces from the frieze 11 Century A.D.

The composition of the figures in such loose, strongly agitated groups did not become possible before the 11 Century. Particulars, such as the woman who is driving an animal in front of her (above), or the man who is returning from a fight (below), are strikingly mature both in theme and representation.

Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.

139. UDAYAGIRI (ORISSA). Rānī Cave. Upper storey. Pieces from the frieze. 11 Century A.D.

The curiously abnormal proportions exhibited by some of the figures of the upper picture, and the preference for too slim and slender bodies, occur again at Amarāvati.

Photo Johnston & Hoffmann.

140. Left: "BIMARĀN RELIQUARY". Latter half of the 1 Century B.C. Height: 0.07 m. Beaten gold. British Museum, London.

TAXILA, SIRKAP. Middle: Bronze statuette of Harpocrates. 11 to the 1 Century B.C. An unusual representation, this garment being usually reserved for Isis. Height: 0.13 m.

Right: BUST OF DIONYSIUS. 11 to the 1 Century B.C. Beaten silver. A pedestal, evidently designed for the accommodation of the bust, was also discovered. It is evidently an article which must have had its proper

place in these extreme domains of Hellenistic culture. Height: 0.10 m.
Photo D.G.A.S.I.

141. TAXILA, SIRKAP. Two stucco heads. At the latest, middle of the 1 Century A.D. The heads come from the stūpas round the temple with the apse. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
142. CHĀRSADA, LOṢIYĀN TĀNGAI.
Left: Buddha from Chārsada (Haṣṭnagar). A.D. 72. The head is new, a later addition by the inhabitants of Rajar, who found the figure and venerate it as Kalika Devi. The socle belonging to the figure is in the British Museum. (Cf. Plate 144.) *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
Right: Buddha from Loṣiyān Tāngai. A.D. 6. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo Indian Museum.*
143. LOṢIYĀN TĀNGAI, CHĀRSADA.
Top: Socle of Buddha Statue from Loṣiyān Tāngai. Dated in the year 318 of the era of the Seleucidæ. A.D. 6.
Bottom: Socle of the Buddha Statue from Chārsada, "Haṣṭnagar Socle." Dated in the year 384 (of the era of the Seleucidæ). British Museum. *Photo Macbeth.*
144. TAKHT-I-BĀHI. Buddha upon the lion-throne. Middle of the 1 Century A.D. Museum of Ethnology, Berlin. *Photo Mus. of Ethn., Berlin.*
145. SAHRI-BAHLOL. Buddha and Bodhisattva Maitreya. Latter half of the 1 Century A.D. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
146. TAKHT-I-BĀHI. Standing Bodhisattva and Buddha. Latter half of the 1 Century A.D. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
147. SAHRI-BAHLOL, TAKHT-I-BĀHL.
Top: Left. Bodhisattva-head. Latter half of the 1 Century A.D. The motif of the griffon appears in the same formulation in the contemporary bronze art of China. Right: Buddha head. 11 Century A.D.
Bottom: Left: Bodhisattva head. First half of the 1 Century A.D. The above three heads come from Sahri-Bahlol.
Right: Takht-i-Bāhl. Bodhisattva Head. Latter half of the 1 Century A.D. Museum, Peshawar. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
148. SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ-DHERĪ. Reliquary of Kaniṣka. A.D. 78-100. Height: 0.13 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*

149. SAHRI-BAHLOL. Three friezes. I to the II Century A.D. The Erota of the upper picture sometimes wear the characteristic Scythian coat; the piece must also have been executed under the Kaniška reign. One should also notice the pattern of the garlands, which correspond in the left part to the garland pattern of Mathurā. While in the North-West two stamens are always turned one to the other, in India the flower-coils are always carried in one direction. *Photo D.G.A.S.I.*
150. SANGHAO RHODE, SKARAH-DHERĪ.
 Left: Sanghao Rhode. Garuda and Nāgini. II Century A.D. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
 Right: Haritī from Skarah-Dherī. Dated in the year 399 (of the era of the Seleucidæ) = A.D. 87. Height: 1.30 m. Museum, Lahore.
Photo Indian Museum.
151. SAHRI-BAHLOL.
 Left: Mathurā. Female figure (Haritī?). Latter half the I Century A.D. The statue was discovered in Mathurā; but, judging from material and style, it hails from the North-West. Height: 1.31 m. Museum, Mathurā. *Photo Indian Museum.*
 Right: Sahri-Bahlol. Male figure in monk's dress. About A.D. 100.
Photo D.G.A.S.I.
152. TAXILA. Dharmarājika Stūpa. Reliefs from structure L. II Century A.D.
 Left: Adoration after the Enlightenment.
 Right: The first sermon in the park of stags at Benares.
Photo D.G.A.S.I.
153. TAXILA, SAHRI-BAHLOL.
 Left: Taxila. Cloister Mohrā Morādu. Terra-cotta Buddha. IV Century A.D.
 Right: Sahri-Bahlol. Buddha. II Century A.D.
Photo D.G.A.S.I.
154. TAXILA. Left: Mohrā Morādu. Reliefs on the South-Eastern corner of the principal stūpa. IV Century A.D.
 Right: Dharmarājika stūpa. Stucco reliefs on the Western side of stūpa R.4. Close of the II Century A.D.
Photo D.G.A.S.I.

155. TAXILA. Dharmarājika Stūpa.

Left: Buddha torso in chapel No. 17. III to the IV Century A.D.

Right: Buddha torso in chapel No. 18. End of the IV to beginning of the V Century A.D.

Photo D.G.A.S.I.

156. TAXILA.

Left: Jauliāñ. Lower stūpa yard. Maitreya in chapel C 33. Plaster piece over a foundation of stone and mud. Height: c. 0.75 m.

Right: Cloister, Mohṛā Morādu. Buddha with companions. End of the IV to beginning of the V Century A.D.

Photo D.G.A.S.I.

157. TAXILA. JAULIĀÑ.

Left: Stūpa A 15 near the principal stūpa. Buddhas on the East side. Beginning of the V Century A.D.

Right: Buddha torso from South-Eastern corner of principal stūpa. Beginning of the V Century A.D.

Photo D.G.A.S.I.

158. TAXILA.

Top: Jauliāñ. Two Buddha heads. Close of the IV to beginning of the V Century A.D.

Bottom: Mohṛā Morādu. Two Buddha heads. IV Century A.D.

The heads belong already to the last phase of the North-West Indian style. They are preceded stylistically by those stucco heads which are distinguished by a particularly clear system of long drawn-out lines, as, for instance, the head in chapel No. 17 near the Dharmarājika Stūpa (Guide to Taxila, Plate VIa).

Photo D.G.A.S.I.

159. KABUL, HADDA (AFGHANISTAN).

Top: Kabul Stūpa in the amphitheatre of Shevaki. III Century A.D.

Bottom: Hadda Stūpas. IV Century A.D.

France having secured for many years the sole and exclusive right to excavations in Afghanistan, M. I. Barthoux undertook the excavations at Hadda, the results of which have been housed in the Musée Guimet in Paris.

M. Joseph Hackin has very kindly placed the photographs at our disposal.

Photo Barthoux.

160. HADDA (AFGHANISTAN).

Left: Buddha torso. Stucco. Cloister of Teppe Kalan. Height 0·28 m.

Photo Godard.

Right: Female figures. Stucco. Height: 0·22 m. and 0·26 m. Stūpa 57. iv to the v Century. *Photo Barthoux.*

The spontaneity of expression, the convincing nature of the actual motion, the negation of the firm and clear-cut lines, as they may be observed here, indicate a style whose tendency may be called baroque. This pictorial style dominated the whole of Gandhāra and was evolved naturally from the style of the III Century. Works of this kind have no connection whatever with specimens of Hellenistic art, which died more than five hundred years earlier.

161. HADDA (AFGHANISTAN). Two stucco heads from stūpa 67, and a bust. Height of heads, 0·11 m. Height of bust, 0·12 m. iv to the v Century A.D. The plastic works of Hadda belong to the best and most impressive productions of the later North-Western style. *Photo Barthoux.*

THE BEGINNINGS

SLOWLY and hesitatingly the Indian people found itself ready to enter the sphere of high art. The gigantic nation required a long time before it was able to take the first uncertain steps, and it was only in the III century B.C. that the streams of inspiration began to flow. And even then it was not a steady self-development, for foreign hands had to clear the path and to point the way.

All that preceded this striving after plastic art differs but little in its essentials from that which Europe and the remaining parts of Asia can offer us across the immense stretches of the Neolithic Age. There are of course stone implements in Southern Asia which apparently belong to an older stratum, such as roughly hewn objects, which distinctly differ from the smooth shapes of the younger Stone Age; but the implements brought to light dating from this period may at well have been dug up from the entrails of the earth in the West, as evidence of those centuries during which humanity was climbing the difficult and monotonous path leading to the summit.

To all appearance, the development of the following age on the Indian peninsula had taken another course than it did in Europe. After stone, it was copper and not bronze which became the dominant metal, and the existence of the former was moreover limited to Northern India; while in the South, at about 500 B.C., the Neolithic Period was directly followed by the Iron Age. The fact that the South became so much later acquainted with copper can be explained by the geographical construction of the country. The Vindhya hills and the barren jungle lie across the peninsula, and only towards the VI century do the Āryans seem to have fought their way through the impenetrable and trackless jungles (1).

In the North, in the districts round the River Indus, things are different. It has been proved that in two places at least, at Harappa in the Punjab and in Mohenjo-Daro in the Sind, a highly civilized nation existed during a period which must have preceded by a long time the Āryan and Dravidian invasion. This nation inhabited large towns with extensive canalization, and constructed in its stone dwellings wells and bath-rooms. The weaver's loom, the potter's wheel, the technical art of extracting metals were well known; gold, silver, lead and copper were worked in, and only iron and bronze were lacking (2). In both places were also found a number of seals with reproductions of animals;

a few such seals from Harappa had already been known for a long time and felt to be rather strange and disquieting; but in connection with the remaining finds they have now become of a decisive historical importance (3). These seals, manufactured from steatite, ivory, stone and faience, mostly have a rectangular shape with a handle on the verso. The face exhibits deeply incised figures of a buffalo, a zebu, an elephant, a unicorn, or a tiger in their broad aspect. The animals are in most cases standing in front of a trough-like object, over which runs an inscription in characters not yet deciphered. Sayce, Gadd and Smith compared these seals with Sumerian specimens and discovered a certain similarity between them, which in one specimen from Kish showed an identity both in form and writing (4). Under these circumstances there is little doubt that during the first half of the III century B.C. a connection must have existed between the cultures on the banks of the Euphrates and of the Indus. The fragment of a male figure from Mohenjo-Daro also exhibits certain leanings towards old Sumerian shapes.

The question whether the influence came from the East to the West or vice versa cannot be so easily answered. Certain technical peculiarities, such as the manufacturing of gems, may have been adopted from India, but as far X as plastic art and ceramics are concerned, Western Asia must be considered as the donor.

On the other hand, a small gold tablet with an almost naked woman on it belongs to the period of Āryan dominion. To judge from its rigid symmetry, the exaggerated rendering of the sexual organs, the absence of any articulation of the joints and the abnormal relations of extremities, it is the typical work of a primitive phase of imagination (5). The small tablet was discovered in a tomb near Lauṛiyā. The explorer, Th. Bloch, thinks that from a few verses in the Rīgveda he can identify the figure as that of the Earth goddess Prithivī. He is therefore inclined to assign not only the tablet but the entire plan of the tomb to the VIII and VII centuries B.C. The interpretation of the date is, however hypothetical, and there is no warrant for assigning it to this period.

It must be remembered that already in 1898 a similar small tablet and a small figure, both made of gold, and the contents of a few relics of *piprahva stūpa*, were discovered on the Indo-Nepalese frontier (6). The motive in both cases is similar to that of Lauṛiyā, and so is also the treatment. It is worthy of

notice that the stūpa is doubtless Buddhistic and probably belongs to the Maurya period (7).

Measured by the wealth and the high degree of culture on the banks of the Indus, it is very little. And even if we may expect that the number of relics from the periods of the Vedas and the Sūtras will increase, we can hardly expect any surprises as far as quality is concerned. Even from literary sources little, if any, evidence can be adduced, except that the figures of gods and animals were fashioned to serve as fetishes (8). We shall have to imagine them as rather primitive productions somewhat resembling the oldest specimens which Marshall dug up in the soil at Bhītā (9).

THE MAURYA PERIOD

In the III century the darkness shrouding the history of Indian art begins to disperse. Only later, when the great religious systems had grown up and risen above their basis, the sense of the Indian people for sculptural creation was awakened. The impulse came from outside, for India required a powerful stimulus before it was able to emerge from the depths of handicraft and to enter the free field of higher art.

The impetus was extraneous and came from Persia, namely from the Persia which Alexander the Great had invaded. This is the more strange as the two related Empires directly bordered one on the other for two centuries until the fall of the Achæmenian monarchy (10). As far as our knowledge goes, only the introduction of the Karoṣṭi letters is due to this direct and continuous neighbourhood; in the artistic domain it produced apparently no far-reaching effect. It is therefore remarkable that after the fall of the Achæmenian Empire Persian influence should have been so suddenly felt.

What is highly probable is that a number of Persians, fleeing from the victorious Alexander, had settled on Indian soil. Their stories of the power and magnificence of the mighty king may have provoked a wish in Chandragupta to imitate that ruler. There is no better evidence attesting the truth of such an assumption than the reports of Megasthenes who, as Ambassador of Seleucus Nicator (312-280), visited several times the first Maurya King Chandragupta (321-297) and left a description of the ceremonial prevalent at the Court of that monarch (11). In Patna, the former Maurya residence

Pāṭaliputra, were the remains of a pillared hall, the ground-plan of which shows some affinity with that of the hundred pillars hall of Darius at Persepolis (12). When Aśoka (274-237), the grandson of Chandragupta, promulgated his famous edicts, he took as his models the rock inscriptions of the mighty king (13); the memorial pillars of Aśoka equally point to Persia; the bell-shaped capital comes from Iran, as does also the technique of imparting a lustrous polish to stone.

For decades Indian sculpture, which is connected with the name of Aśoka, lay in the twilight. Authentic productions, and many as certainly unauthentic, stood side by side without any order, and only the exact research of the last decades made a critical sifting possible. Fresh material, rescued either from the hard soil or the soft sand of some river-bed, was added; and this attracted and carried along with it other material which, though a rare and inexplicable evidence of distant times, was often in danger of falling back into oblivion.

Although the simple substantiation of the fact that such or such a piece belonged, for such or such reasons, to the Maurya period is a great step forward, it is yet not everything. Those who are anxious to gain an insight and a deeper understanding are assailed by a number of questions. Which were the driving forces that led to just such productions? How great was the participation of nations and how were the accents distributed? How is the variance of form to be explained? Did these forms shoot up accidentally one by the side of the other, or is there a deeper sense behind them? Marshall opened the discussion on the problem of origin (14), but after making some important remarks, he let the subject drop and until to-day it has not been taken up again.

THE MEMORIAL PILLARS

With laudable national sentiment, an Indian has endeavoured to assign several sculptures to the V century B.C. (15). The attempt has failed and thus, when there is a question of Indian sculpture, Aśoka has still the first word.

In the district directly under his sway and in the adjoining lands under his influence (16), this prince set up memorial pillars of considerable dimensions (13-21 metres) upon which he had his famous edicts incised. Without any base the shaft grows up from the soil, tapering towards the summit; it always

Mr. Baring In this small note extends please insert the actual note referred to at the end of the chapter
Para (14) is Marshall Cat. 1. p. 621 ff. etc.

consists of one piece and has a lustrous polish. It is crowned by a gently arched bell-shaped capital formed of fine lotus-leaves; this is surmounted after a ring-like lacing up by the abacus; and on the summit there is a round plastic figure, always a Buddhistic symbol: a lion, an elephant, a bull, a horse, the Wheel of the Law, and twice also, at Sārnāth and at Sānchī, the combination of two symbols, where four lions set back to back hold aloft the wheel. According to Buddhistic conception prevalent in Ceylon, the animals are considered to be the guardians of the four cardinal points (17).

For the history of art, in addition to the rock sculpture of an elephant at Dhauli in Orissa, only eight of the existing pillars, which have retained until to-day their plastic ornamentation, come under consideration. They are: the elephant-crowned pillar of Sankīsa, the bull-crowned pillar of Rāmpurvā, the lion-crowned pillar in the same place. To these should be added the same motive in Lauṛiyā Nandangarh and at Bāsarh, the four lions of Sārnāth and Sānchī, and finally the four bulls of Salempur (18).

// With a certain amount of justice the relationship existing between these pillars and those of Persepolis has been pointed out (19). There is no question but that India of the III century owes much to Iran, but even here it is time to point out for once the differences, so that the particular note of this art should not be muffled on account of the similarity.

In India the basis and channelling are missing (20), and above all, the capital is quite different: two-thirds of the Persian form, the palm-crowned capital after the Egyptian manner and the square member with projecting double volutes, have disappeared (21). Indian modelling has also nothing in common with the second Persian pillar order which places directly upon the shaft two half-figures of a bull or a lion (22).

The result of this thorough transformation is an entirely different aspect. Opposed to the third or more structural shape of the second Persian order, composed of many members, the Indian column appears as a simple and somewhat primitive structure, perhaps not very harmonious but full of fresh and elemental strength.

// The decisive point, however, is the different sense connected with the Aśoka columns; they are to be considered as independent monuments, not as parts of a larger architectural entity. They are monuments standing free in space and intended to produce an independent effect, whence arose the

task of creating an independently complete work. The task was executed by surmounting the abacus with a free figure. Nothing is more comprehensible than that the Indian spirit should continually have tried to work on this crowning ornament until it had at last found a solution which satisfied its primitive conception.

Figure and abacus constitute one piece and resemble the shaft as far as technique and material are concerned: no matter where the columns are set up, the same grey sandstone from the quarries of Chunar is always used, and most carefully polished (23). This uniform place of origin leads to the conclusion that an important school of sculpture, no doubt established by Aśoka, must have worked there, for it is easy to notice that, in addition to identity of material, there is also a similarity in style.

On account, however, of the complete mastery of all the plastic agents of expression, the advanced aptitude to visualize, and the perfect reproduction of volume, it is difficult to imagine here an art which was not affected by any extraneous influence: no land introduces itself into the sphere of plastic art with such works. Even if we assume that the Hindu possesses exceptional gifts and aptitudes for plastic art, because he is naturally endowed with an intense feeling for volume; even if we assume that the woodcarvers had reached a noticeable degree of development a long time before, we cannot in any case admit that their productions were more mature than the early Indian works of Bārhūt, produced only a century after the Aśoka columns and belonging to a much simpler plane of conception.

Marshall, who was struck by the powerful feeling for volume and the difference from the archaic form of the works of Bārhūt, pleads in favour of Græco-Bactrian artists. It was in Bactria, which asserted its independence about 250 B.C., that Alexander the Great is said to have planted, two generations before, a powerful Greek colony which, on account of the geographical position of the country, must have played a dominant part in the transmission of Hellenistic art and culture (24).

In any case, the Western influence is there, and manifests itself particularly clearly if we consider the representation of the lions which frequently occur on the Aśoka columns. With the Persian manner of modelling, the Indian has nothing in common. The few attempts made in Iran in the domain of

free plastic art bear an entirely different stamp in their preference for angular forms (25). On the other hand, the Indian lions of the Aśoka period resemble in several points the Greek works of the same cast, as for instance in the reproduction of the cheek-bones and the moustache; the eye too is comparatively deeply embedded, while in the entire later Indian art it is protruding (26). These similarities, in addition to the advanced power of visualizing, lead to the assumption that the master or masters of Chunar must have known Western plastic works and studied them thoroughly.

The absence of purely Greek forms is not surprising. The premises are lacking which would warrant the assumption that foreign goods had been assimilated.

The question of the participation of India in the art of the Aśoka period has hitherto not been put. The answer can be easily found if we pay attention to the time-sequence of the most important monuments.

As the first monument to which a date can be assigned with certainty, we have the elephant of Dhauli in Orissa emerging with half its body from the natural rock. The rock bears the edicts destined for Kalīnga which are to be dated in the twelfth or thirteenth year of the reign of Aśoka, that is about 257 B.C. (27). After a pause extending over thirteen years follows the Northern column of Rāmpurvā, crowned with a lion, and raised in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Aśoka (28), corresponding to 244 B.C. As the lion-crowned column of Lauriyā Nandangarh bears the first six pillar edicts of Aśoka (29), which are placed in the twenty-seventh year of his reign (30), the date for it will be the year 243 B.C.

With regard to the lion-crowned column of Sārnāth we can only say that in all probability it was executed later than in the twenty-eighth year. Like the column of Sānchī, it bears a few edicts which do not occur on other columns (31). In any case, it is generally admitted that these two columns belong to the last years of the reign of Aśoka (32).

Generally speaking, a differentiation in the plastic sentiment can be noticed which goes hand in hand with a progressive improvement of the means of representation. The gigantic elephant of Dhauli is still closely related to the crude elephant of Sankīsa which, together with the lion of Bāsarh, surely precedes the remaining animal capitals.

Plate 1

Plate 7

Plate 4

Plates 5, 8

Plates 3, 8

This again is not surprising. A better and clearer explanation is furnished by the comparison of two earlier and two later lion-crowned capitals. In Lauṛiyā Nandangarh and in Rāmpurvā there is only one lion as a crowning figure, while in Sārnāth and in Sānchī it consists of a cluster of four leonine half-figures which join at the shoulders and carry the wheel, the symbol of the Buddhist Law.

The single productions thus precede the serial ones. In Sārnāth and in Sānchī the Indian preference for an accumulation of forms is expressed for the first time.

I do not think that we need attribute to the quadripartite lion-crowned capital a deeper symbolic meaning than to the simple production. The crowning cluster in Sānchī and in Sārnāth was surely intended to symbolize the "lion of the Śākya-race who is turning the wheel of the Law". The reliefs of the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse on the abacus point to the fact that here it is not a question of transferring the task of guardianship to the four lions: otherwise they would have been superfluous (33). The quadrupling can therefore not be explained on religious or symbolical grounds, and the Indian imagination with regard to form is alone responsible for it.

From the year 244 B.C. India, after having removed the foreign modes of expression, interpreted and employed in her own sense the Western elements of figuration which, on their long way from Western Asia to the banks of the Ganges, had lost so much of their original aspect, and exchanged their picturesque dress for a garment of plain cut and style. But, from the very start, with the new decorative scheme were also inseparably amalgamated specifically Indian modes of expression, precisely conditioning this solution. The insatiable craving for expression, peculiar at all times to the Hindu feeling for form, imagined that it could reach its goal only by means of an entire disregard for naturalness. The result is an artistic production of great decorative effect, but which, like the high technical perfection, cannot hide the want of inner clearness.

FIGURAL SCULPTURE

Not many are the plastic works of the Maurya-dynasty which have come down to us. Besides the elephant of Dhauli and the capitals of the eight

memorial columns there are a few figures and a few fragments of heads. Qualitatively, however, there is a great disparity between these sculptures. The Pārkhām statue and its female counterpart (34) are very crude works as compared to the two Yakṣas of Patna and the surprisingly well-preserved monument from Dīdargañj.

Luckily, the material alone enables us to draw a conclusion with regard to the origin of the sculptures, namely that they all come from Chunar, like the columns of Aśoka, and that they are also executed in the same style. Beyond this fact an acquaintance with the change of conception, as it is attested by the diversity of the crowning adornments of the columns, enables one to understand the figure plastic more easily. When aim and direction are thus known, the phenomena classify themselves of their own accord and a point of view is easily attained from which the whole can be viewed.

The two Yakṣas of Patna (35) are, as far as cast, dress and ornamentation are concerned, entirely Indian. One figure has lost its right side and three-quarters of its left arm, while in its present state the tassel ends of the girdle and the legs have been reconstructed in stucco. In the second statue the head and right forearm are missing, and the left hand is truncated above the wrist. In both cases body and garment are brilliantly polished, while the roughly squared socles had evidently been fixed into another block.

Plate 10

In 1917 a very well-preserved Yakṣī statue was incidentally discovered at Dīdargañj, east of Patna. Here, too, ornamentation and dress are entirely Indian. In accordance with native custom the thin garment is tied not at the hip but at the broadest part of the pelvis; it is held together by a fivefold girdle, the separate chains of which are put widely apart on the sides and clasped together in front by two bell-shaped buckles. The very full and luxuriant hair is twisted in the neck in a large knot from which a short wide bow is hanging down the back. The uplifted right arm is holding up the tail of a yak which covers the shoulder, the missing left arm was hanging down loosely.

Plate 9

At some distance follows the Pārkhām statue. It is very much damaged: the arms are missing and the head is lamentably mutilated. Here, too, a cloth is wound round the thighs, falling down in front and held together by a cloth girdle. At the height of the chest there is a second girdle, in the left side of which the corner of a scarf is tucked in; as ornaments there are two large necklaces.

Plate 11

from The Yakṣi of Dīdargañj is undoubtedly the most important statue. The canon of form is purely Indian: the face is more square than oval, the breasts are powerful, and the waist is narrowed beneath the bosom so that the haunches protrude more strongly. The statue is a curious mixture of a highly developed and primitive feeling for form. The impressiveness with which the three-dimensional nature of the form is made manifest is amazing. The statue is made to stand on the left leg and the upper part of the body is bending lightly and easily. The right arm is half lifted towards the shoulder, and both motifs point beyond a dependence upon space. The careful figuration of the back urges to the conclusion that a view from all sides was being reckoned with.

Very much advanced is also the representation of the material side. The heavy and yet loose mass of hair, the firm flesh of the back and the softness of the bosom and of the lower part of the body are convincingly rendered. The garment is indicated by means of wide parallel curves. The corners of the drapery and the scarf are animated by means of small fold-lines altering their direction easily as the motif requires it. The same conformity to reality is also noticeable in the chain girdle which widens at the pelvis where it is made tight.

from On the other hand, certain primitive characteristics are manifest. The scarf is not hanging down freely at the back, following its own weight, but adheres to the body. Hair, tail of the yak, scarf and drapery-ends are reproduced summarily with almost identical means. Spooner has already called attention to the difference in quality existing between the draped and undraped parts (36). In addition to this comes the overwhelming importance of the front view, which, however, hides the particular charm of this figure and the easy inclination of the body. One notices throughout how a highly developed art, mastering all the devices of plastic creation, is being adapted to a new and simple level of conception.

All this equally applies to the two Yakṣas of Patna. Here, too, the volume is strongly felt and convincingly reproduced. In these figures, too, the face – there is preference for face focus – and the end of the scarf which falls down on the left side are connected with the body and constitute a rather large surface which allows only a front view and thus indicates the standpoint to the observer. The lower part is also qualitatively inferior to the upper parts, its execution being flat and feeble.

Of the Western ideal of beauty there is nothing to be noticed, the Hindu

imagining his Yakṣas of mighty and powerful build. Their imposing appearance has therefore been clearly rendered and expressed.

In the statue from Pārkhām we have before us a similar figure. It exhibits a deformed torso with a protruding lower part of the body reposing on comparatively thin legs which appear powerful through the drapery and are lightly bent in the knees. This last fact is of great importance, as it is the decisive evolution towards Hindu conception of form that requires the torso to be bent in its joints. Stress is always laid on the joints, and this requirement has been obeyed and carried out for two thousand years, from the statue of Pārkhām to the sculptures of Madura.

There is no striving for naturalness here, as was the case with the Dīdargañj Yakṣi, to be noticed in the girdle. Now in the place where the girdle would have to be clinging to the protruding body it is simply omitted.

As a new element must be mentioned another method of rendering the folds, the hems in the flowing drapery being indicated by incised wave lines. Hitherto this had not been customary, but it is the usual reproduction of a loosely flowing garment in the works of Bārhūt.

What is most important, however, is the unconditional "frontality". Marshall draws particular attention to it and is of opinion that the left and the right almost correspond to each other (37). Anything else besides the front side is not expected to be seen. The side view offers an unsuccessful picture, while the back view exhibits only a few slight incisions and furnishes the best proof that no importance was attached to it.

/// To sum up: the five life-size, plastically round statues are, as far as motif is concerned, purely Indian, while in style they present themselves as a peculiar mixture of maturity and primitiveness. They are closely related to the animal capitals of Aśoka. This close relationship is manifest not only in material and workmanship, which lead to the conclusion of a common place of origin, but also in their entire conception. ///

In the first place, the identical comprehension of the cubic values has to be determined in groups. And as in the crowning ornaments on the pillars the Indian element succeeds in making itself heard comparatively quickly, so the indigenous conceptions also obtain in the figural plastic. The line is opened by the Dīdargañj Yakṣi, still in harmony with and full of reminiscences of a

plastic art which experimentally mastered the third dimension and – within bounds – paid attention to naturalness, while the primitive Yakṣa of Pārkhām, exclusively calculated upon a front view, concludes the series.

At Sārnāth and Bāsaṛh small terra-cotta heads have been dug up which belong to the Maurya period and are undoubtedly to be traced back to Græco-Bactrian artists (38).

In the dressing of the hair, one of the small heads resembles the indigenous terra-cottas, such as have been unearthed at Bāsaṛh, Sārnāth and Besnagar. To these are to be added a few fragments of life-size heads of Hindu workmanship worked in polished yellow sandstone which exhibit a mural crown, a laurel wreath and ram horns (39). They prove at the very least that in addition to Greek motifs Hellenistic provincial art had found its way into the very heart of India.

An intercourse with the West must assuredly also have existed; and if we add the fact that about that time stone sculpture suddenly made its appearance and from an amazingly lofty level immediately began to grapple with the problem of the free figure, then the hypothesis of Græco-Bactrian artists who worked in the service of India seems indeed to be the right solution. A weighty objection can of course be raised: How are we to understand the specifically Hindu element in the form given to the great free figures? There is nothing Western in them, neither in figuration nor in dress and ornamentation.

This can only be explained by the fact that long before the Maurya dynasty there had already existed in India an art of woodcarving or clay sculpture which definitely shaped and modelled the well-known figures of the Yakṣas and Yakṣis. The fact that a century later the artists of Bārhūt operated with firmly outlined types of gods points in this direction.

This explanation of course furnishes only an interpretation of the Indian appearance of the four statues, but does not account for the style, which by its maturity sharply differs from the strained and severely archaic forms of the following century.

The suggestion that it is the work of foreign artists I am not inclined to accept, for the latter will hardly have carried the renunciation of their individuality to such an extent as to have been completely merged in the Hindu conception of form and to have created Indian motifs in a style which is remin-

iscent of contemporary Western art only by the mastery of the third dimension.

What seems to me to be more likely is that the plastic art of the Maurya period is the work of Hindus who had made themselves acquainted with the advanced art of the neighbouring Hellenistic Empires and to have taken from it as much as was compatible with their capacity and understanding. It is only thus that can be best explained the curious mixture of a mature and primitive conception of form, the purely Indian aspect of the figural plastic art, the elaboration of Greek motifs in the Indian style, the progressive Hinduization of the animal capitals, and last but not least, the return to complete primitiveness in the case of the Pārkhām Yakṣa. This specimen was probably created at a time when foreign elements had already been forgotten.

There is also another proof in evidence of the fact that the statue from Pārkhām is the last work of this group, namely the arrangement of the folds in the drapery ends. In the three other figures the folds are rendered by long, flat and closely drawn parallel lines, while here, although there are also vertical stripes, the distance between the winding wave lines is rather wide: in exactly the same manner the folds of this garment are reproduced at Bārḥūt.

Thus everything points to the fact that this clumsy work is to be placed not at the beginning but at the end of the series. In any case, it points forwards, to a period when the Hindu spirit interpreted the visible world independently and free from foreign influence.

Two comparatively well-preserved heads among the fragments from the Maurya period, in the rich find discovered at Sārnāth in 1914/15 by Hargreaves, are of special interest (40).

If we compare these sculptures with the Dīdargañj Yakṣi, the only work where the face is not mutilated, we are struck by the change in the rendering of the eye. There it is very small, the lower lid being slightly curved, while the upper lid comparatively arches above it. In a like manner, but considerably coarser and much more mechanically, the eye is indicated in the bearded head; but the lids are most strongly set off by means of parallel-running cavities. As in the Yakṣi, the forehead, too, smoothly and easily joins the bridge of the nose.

In the other head this is no longer the case. The eye is now flat and long-drawn, and although the lids are still very clearly indicated by the same device, the eyebrows meet and the boundary between brow and nose is sharply marked.

Plate 12

94m
This may appear to be of little import, were it not that at Bārḥūt the same rendering is to be found. We could go further and point out the similarity existing in the reproduction of the mouth and as a result establish the melancholy expression in both cases. This means then that a further link has been found between the art of the Maurya dynasty and that of the subsequent period.

NOTES

- 1] JOHN MARSHALL and E. J. RAPSON, C.H.I., pp. 56, 615, 618.
- 2] A.S.R. 1920-21, pp. 15 f.; 1923-4, pp. 12 f., Pl. 19. MARSHALL in *Illustrated London News*, September 20, 1924; February 27, March 6, 1926.
- 3] J. FLEET, *Seals from Harappa*, J.R.A.S. 1912, pp. 699 f.
- 4] C. J. GADD and S. SMITH in *Illustrated London News*, October 4, 1924. E. MACKAY, *Sumerian Connections with Ancient India*, J.R.A.S. 1925, pp. 697 f., Pl. 10. The seal was found by the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition of 1923 in Kish in the basement of a room, c. 2 m., underneath the base of the North-Eastern side of the zигurat of the war god Ilbaba. Mackay also discovered a similarity between the ceramics of Mohenjo-Daro and Kish (A.S.R. 1923, 24, p. 48). If we assume that the Western Asiatic pottery had exercised its influence as far as Honan we may discover an unexpectedly rich field.
- 5] TH. BLOCH, *Excavations at Lauriyā*, A.S.R. 1906-7, pp. 122 f., Fig. 4.
- 6] WILLIAM CLAXTON PEPPE, *The Piprahva Stūpa, containing Relics of Buddha*, J.R.A.S. 1898, pp. 173 f.; V.A. SMITH, note, pp. 379 f., Plate, Figs. 11 and 15.
- 7] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 623.
- 8] A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, C.H.I., p. 97, quotes a passage from the Rigveda from which can be inferred the use of images "which undoubtedly were employed as fetishes".
E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, C.H.I., p. 232, quotes a passage from the Gṛihya Sūtra, from which the use of small clay figures can be concluded: "On the full moon day of the month Chaitra he makes (images of) a pair

of animals out of metal; he offers them and jujube leaves (to the gods); to Indra and Agni a figure with prominent navel; and a ball to Rudra (*Cankhayana Grhya Sūtra*, iv, 19)." The comparatively frequent small clay figures probably belong to this category.

- 9] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Bhītā*, A.S.R. 1911-12, Pl. 22, 1, p. 4.
- 10] A. V. WILLIAM JACKSON, C.H.I., pp. 332 f., 337.
- 11] V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, pp. 128 f.
- 12] D. B. SPOONER, *Mr. Ratan Tata's Excavation at Pāṭaliputra*, A.S.R. 1912-13, pp. 53 f. It must not be forgotten that the model had lain for several years among rubbish and ashes before building was begun at Pāṭaliputra.
- 13] ALFRED GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1920, p. 15; E. SENART, J.A., 1885, pp. 226 f.
- 14] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., pp. 621 f., *A Guide to Sānchī*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 92 note.
- 15] K. P. JAYASWAL, *Statues of Two Saisunaga Emperors* (483-409 B.C.), J.B.O.R.S., March, 1919, pp. 88 f. The refutation by Rāmaprāsād Chanda, *Four Ancient Yakṣa Statues*, University of Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. iv, pp. 47 f., Calcutta, 1921. The discussion continues through Vols. v and vi of the J.B.O.R.S.
- 16] E. J. RAPSON, C.H.I., p. 514.
- 17] Thanks to a discovery in the cloister of Vijayarama (VIII century) near Anurādhapura in Ceylon, it became possible to identify the four animals as the guardians of the four points of the compass. East - Elephant (and Dhṛitarāṣṭra), South - Horse (and Virudha), West - Bull (and Virūpākṣa), North - Lion (and Vaisravana Kubera), cf. V. A. SMITH, *The Monolithic Pillars or Columns of Aśoka*, Z.D.M.G. 1911, pp. 237 f.
- 18] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-236. The male figure of Sānchī belongs to the Gupta period, cf. JOHN MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sānchī*, p. 99. Salempur Capital: A.S.R. East. Circle 1918-19, p. 45.
- 19] A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 17.
- 20] Even in Pasargadai, where the shafts were smooth, there were disk-like bases, cf. SPRINGER-WOLTERS, *Die Kunst des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 94.
- 21] *Ibid.*, Plate 216b.
- 22] *Ibid.*, p. 93, Plate 216a.

- 23] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 619.
- 24] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 621; *A Guide to Sānchī*, p. 92 note.
- 25] Cf. SARRE, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922. Lion from Susa, Pl. 44; for the relief: Pl. 21, Pl. 39. M. DIEULAFOY, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, Paris, 1885, Vol. III, Pl. XVIII.
- 26] The closest similarity is to be found in the lion of the Collection van Brantaghem. M. COLLIGNON, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'Art Grec*, Paris, 1911, Fig. 150. The author considers it to be an Attic work of the IV century, p. 231.
- 27] F. W. THOMAS, C.H.I., p. 503.
- 28] DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Excavations at Rāmpurvā*, A.S.R., 1907-8, p. 181.
- 29] V. A. SMITH, *Fine Art*, p. 20.
- 30] V. A. SMITH, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, Oxford, 1901, p. 153.
- 31] JOHN MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sānchī*, pp. 92 f.
- 32] V. A. SMITH, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60.
- 33] V. A. SMITH (Z.D.M.G. 1911, p. 239) does not sufficiently take into consideration the actual facts and therefore arrives at unsatisfactory conclusions in his interpretation of the Sārnāth Capitals. The four lions are not intended both to symbolize the Buddha and to guard the four points of the compass, this object being assigned to the animals of the abacus.
- 34] It is a seated figure which is adored in the village of Jhinga-ki-Nagra north of Mathurā as Mansadevi. According to R. Chanda's reading the inscription says that a certain Naka had executed it, a disciple of Kunika, whose name also occurs on the Pārkhām statue, cf. A.S.R. 1920-21, Pl. 8b; A.S.R. 1922, 4, p. 165.
- 35] For the arguments that Yakṣas are here represented, see RĀMAPRĀSAD CHANDA, *Four ancient Yakṣa Statues*, University of Calcutta, Department of Letters, Vol. IV, pp. 47 f., Calcutta, 1921.
- 36] D. B. SPOONER, *The Dīdargañj Image*, J.B.O.R.S. March, 1919, p. 111.
- 37] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 620.
- 38] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 623, cf. A.S.R. 1907-8, p. 55.
- 39] H. HARGREAVES, *Excavations at Sārnāth*, A.S.R. 1914-15, p. 111; cf. Nos. 1, 2, 7, Pl. 66, 3-4.
- 40] H. HARGREAVES, *Excav. at Sārnāth*, A.S.R. 1914-15, Pl. 65, Figs. f-i.

II

EARLY SCULPTURE IN INDIA

TOWARDS the middle of the second pre-Christian century fresh powers begin to be astir in India, and both in the North and in the South new creative forces, whose roots are deeply embedded in the native soil, come to light.

/// All that had been previously created, under the Maurya dynasty, had not come spontaneously and voluntarily from the heart of India. The decree of the King had summoned the sculptors of Chunar into the field, but the people had no part in their work. In this respect Aśoka ranks among the Oriental potentates to whom art was only a means by which they were enabled to glorify the monarchic idea. *JH*

This suddenly disappeared just a century later. The dynasty may still be mentioned, but only in a general sense, simply for the purpose of indicating the date and appertainment to such or such an Empire. The whole people are now the customers and patrons: kings and citizens, artisans and monks being the founders.

/// This may perhaps mean that Buddhism – for it is now almost exclusively a question of works of this religious community – had established a wider basis among the people. It surely, however, means that a new art was growing up all over India, from Amarāvati in the South to Mathurā in the North, an art in the development of which the entire nation was taking a hearty interest. *JH*

Everything that separates the plastic art of India from that of other nations had already received its own stamp, more or less sharp, during the archaic period. There we have the close relationship existing between architecture and plastic art, which is the more easily noticeable as the Indian temple is not aiming at forms and figures erected in space, but must be considered as a monument raised in honour of the divinity; it is a plastically felt and plastically shaped mass (1).

From the very beginning there existed the tendency to abandon to the sculptor all the available surfaces of a structure for plastic fashioning; reliefs and free figures closely crowd the kernel of the structure. The Hindu can never accumulate enough motifs, it is a lavish expense of power and form losing itself in infinity. /// The expression "horror vacui" has been applied to *JH*

94m this tendency, and it is fully justified if we interpret it in a positive sense, namely in that of an excessive, eternally unappeased craving after expression. That higher order, that moderation which in the West appears as the fundamental condition of artistic production, is unknown to the Hindu, because he never proceeds from the idea of a complete whole, perfect in itself, but from the conception of an individual figure; to him a work of art is the sum total of single and separate elements.

94m *Rūpa-bheda* – separation of forms – is the first concept of Hindu aesthetics: the individual structure or image is elaborated in its very minutest details with an almost painful rigour and exactness, and the parts are carefully separated one from the other. Thus the human body, too, appears as a composite of single members, though the manner in which the parts are joined so as to form a whole may vary. By the side of some puppet-like, almost mechanical productions there are also found some which convey the impression of an organism which is free in its joints. The idea of proportion, which plays such a dominant part in later plastic art, ranks only as second (2).

In addition to this the Hindu feels the volume of things with extraordinary intensity. The figures and structures strike the observer by their tight roundness, and the three-dimensional character of the object is reproduced with astonishing forcefulness. The modelling is very energetically executed and the reliefs are intersected so that in the light the rounded places contrast very effectively with the deep shadows of the underground. It is on account of its plastic intention and its plastic effect that this Indian chiaroscuro differs in principle from the chiaroscuro of the relief of later antiquity where both conception and effect are of a picturesque nature.

94m Within these wider boundaries early Indian sculpture occupies a distinct place, particularly on account of the fact that it resolutely acknowledged the principle of naturalness. That grandiose synthesis of this world and of the next, manifested in the plastic art of the fifth to the tenth century, that unsurpassed capacity of mediaeval art to make perceptible through the human figure the most sublime and complicate ideas of the Mahayana and of Hinduism – all that would have been impossible, had not the sculptors during the centuries immediately preceding and following the birth of Christ taken such endless pains over the problems of how to reproduce the human body and finally found the solution in the close imitation of Nature.

We must also add that from the very beginning early Indian plastic art never imagined man as something separate and isolated from Nature. Upon the reliefs of a narrative and representative Nature, the Hindus have placed the human body surrounded by rich architecture or landscape. After many endeavours these elements have been grouped in the sense of spacial effect. This means that stress is always laid upon the body which is filling the space, but never upon the space itself.

NOTES

- 1] There are of course structures producing an entirely different effect, such as the Chaitya halls, but even there the stress is laid upon the plastically felt stūpa and the plastically felt pillars. The Westerner is too much inclined to interpret these structures in his own sense as fashioned inner rooms, while to the Hindu they mean a combination of definite bodies of various sizes and functions.
- 2] RABINDRA NATH TAGORE, *The Creative Ideal*, Rūpam 9, Calcutta, 1922, p. 5 f.

THE EARLY PHASE

150-50 B.C.

THE oldest works of this period which have been preserved come from Bārḥūt in Central India. They are reliefs which ornamented the railings and the gate of a stūpa. A stūpa is a structure conceived either as a sepulchral monument or intended to commemorate some particular event. The Indian form consists of a round cupola set on a low terrace to which a flight of steps leads up. The whole is surmounted by a cubic structure upon which is erected the parasol, the Indian emblem of sovereignty. The terrace, the upper dome, the steps and the entire structure are flanked with railings; round the outer fence at the four cardinal points, South, North, East and West, stand monumental gates with triple architrave.

Plate 15 A portion of the Bārḥūt railing and the eastern gate are now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, all the rest is lost. The beams of the fence and the individual pillars, all executed in close imitation of carpenter's work, are ornamented with scenes from the Jātakas, stories of the former existences of the Buddha, and with scenes from the legends clustering round the "Sublime".

Plate 18 At the corner pillars there are besides large figure-reliefs, male and female demons. An inscription on the eastern gate indicated that it had been erected by Dhanabhuti under the reign of the Śuṅgas (1). Cunningham who, for epigraphical reasons, had at first assigned it to the III century, concluded afterwards, when he had examined the material more closely, that the date was 150 B.C. (2). Marshall, too, is of the same opinion (3), in spite of the attempt made by L. A. Waddell, on theological grounds, to uphold the old date (4).

The works of early Indian plastic art that follow next are the reliefs on a stone railing at Bodh Gayā, which flanked the path that Buddha trod after his enlightenment. There the queens Kuramgi and Nāgadevā, the wives of the Kings Indramitra and Brahmamitra, appear as the founders (5). Now copper coins of these two rulers have been discovered in Northern India rather frequently. From the inscriptions on these coins it can be inferred that these kings cannot have lived earlier than in the first pre-Christian century (6). For archaeological and epigraphical reasons the date of the stone fence of Bodh Gayā must be assigned to the first half of the last pre-Christian century.

The Indian people did not find it easy to express its view of the visible world. The tone is sober and restrained, the speech is clumsy and brief, and by the side of the royal pathos of the Maurya period the words sound harsh and almost embarrassed.

In solemn repose and deep earnestness stand the semi-gods of Bārḥūt, creatures of a transcendental sphere who have nothing in common with humanity. One must, however, beware of interpreting these figures as the expression of a particularly serious conception. The artist disposes only of a modest orchestra, consequently it may be easily proved that conceptions of quite contradictory natures are represented with the same means.

The "royal busts", the Yakṣas and Yakṣis, were certainly so conceived as they affect us to-day, namely, as sublime and above everyday life. But the same atmosphere of detached repose is also noticeable in the Jāṭaka narratives, and here it must particularly be pointed out that representations which have a highly dramatic character as well as those which are decidedly humorous, frequently even with a very unequivocal point in their humour, are related in the same tone. Plates 18-21

For more than twenty centuries the strong feeling for the cubic has imprinted its stamp upon Indian sculpture. No matter whether it is a question of alto-relievo, bas-relief or of a free-standing figure, always the volume of things is figured with a stress unequalled in the history of Asiatic art.

The means vary in the course of time, but the aim remains the same. In Bārḥūt the desired effect is obtained by sharply joining, almost in a right angle, the contours of the comparatively flat bodies with the relief-ground. The contours of the inner forms are also set down in a similar manner. Within these part-forms the chisel then proceeds to work more finely, more according to the rules of drawing, incising the folds, the patterns of an ornamentation, a single leaf, often even its veins, with clearness. Stress, however, is always laid upon the complexus of forms which strike the observer with their pronounced plasticity.

Another trait, particularly characteristic of this phase and stamping it at the same time as an early stage, is the desire for exhaustive clearness which stipulates also for clearness of contour. The care with which the details are ensconced in sharply incised lines produces an almost worrying effect: the eye is brought quite closely to things so that nothing should escape it. The

artist has an answer ready for everything: to the question about the tattooing on the forehead and cheek of a dancer, about the ornamentation of the framework on a door, about the pattern of a caparison, about the fine veins of a fig leaf. The result of such minuteness is that a satisfactory general impression is obtained only with difficulty: the gaze is captivated by the details, and it always requires a certain effort to survey the whole.

Plate 29

Plate 28

The refusal to give precedence to one element above another has led to complete anarchy in the medallions of the stone fence: the single parts swim about on the surface like so many small pieces of wood upon the water, and the impression of the casual, fortuitous and unsteady is still more emphasized by the fact that the two principal directions, the vertical and horizontal, which are given by the pillars themselves, are entirely ignored. The use of a quadratic form of representation effects a certain clarification, while the base-line, the scheme of connection by rows, and the use of architectural scenery introduce an external order into the composition.

The undeveloped idea of perception distorts also the human body in a forcible way. This is done in order to render the single part under the most exhaustive aspect. Here we have the key to the conception of the body prevalent in this period. The single parts and elements are only loosely joined together, constituting no living entity. This proceeding is clearly betrayed in the angular, non-rhythmical movement of the contour, which in its turn appears as the sum total of the contours of single parts of the body. In the course of time the rigidity and severity of line softens, flows more calmly and connects the forms more closely together.

cf. Plate 21 right
with Plate 19
right

The pure style of the silhouettes of archaic art, which gives to all objects the most variegated contour, making it the bearer of the representation, is closely connected with the more or less pronounced reduction of the three-dimensional values. The artist considers that a slight relief or incision in the stone within the sharply set up contour is quite sufficient to figure the roundness.

This phenomenon, however, is interesting also from another point of view. The almost perpendicular raising produces a slight shadow which separates a form from the neutral or objectively conceived background. Under no circumstances could the artist give up these shadows, which at Bārḥūt are still closely bound up with the borders of the single objects, because otherwise the glaring light of the tropical sun would have dissolved the contours, and even

at a short distance the work would have been fused into formless nothingness. In consequence of a lustrous painting over, which the artist has not renounced, the destructive effect of the sun would, at the utmost, have been delayed but not stopped.

It was at Bārḥūt that stood the cradle of that chiaroscuro which was to become such a characteristic trait of Indian plastic art for twenty centuries. In contradistinction, however, to the later period in the archaic time, the shades are not yet connected and do not produce that uniform dark ground from which emerge the bright illumined figures; only where, for external reasons, two bodies stand close together, is such an effect produced. What is rather important, however, is that in this case they are not the result of an artistic intention but have been accomplished accidentally. For the area, sometimes sparsely occupied for Indian circumstances, frequently allows the ground to be perceived, which is enlivened by shady lines representing rocks and water and a few flowers and reliefs of trees. Such a formation of the background is, however, conditioned by the contents, and always intended to indicate a definite locality.

Plates 23, 24

Quite at the beginning, as on the medallions of the pillars, the component parts are loosely distributed over the ground without any notion of space being connected with this arrangement. Upon the rectangular panels of the corner-posts, which are evidently a later addition, they are purely decorative and placed one by the side of or above another. In some places a feeling for spacial situation is betrayed, but the artist is never conscious of it and it is therefore never clearly formulated. A few very vague and general indications seem to suffice, intended to make the observer reflect upon the mutual situation of the objects.

Plate 31

Plates 23-24

One must beware, however, of interpreting human figures in their back view, three-quarter view, such as those whose bodies are directed to the inside of the image while the face is looking outwards, as a proof of a definite intention of spacial representation. They are nothing more than a new interesting view of the human figure. The intersection, too, is never made with a view to spacial connection.

In a work even such as the Enlightenment, on the Prasenajit pillar, where a court with a group of devout worshippers is exhibited, no space is represented. The diminution of height in the pillar must of course not be interpreted in the sense of a perspective shortening, because the structure is conceived as

surrounding the tree standing behind, and a relief from Sānchī, which probably represents the same locality, shows this quite clearly (7). There, however, we can see that the throne stood inside the structure, as is indeed self-evident, in the shadow of the Bodh tree, beneath which Siddhārtha became a Buddha. On the relief from Bārḥūt this is indicated by showing the ornamented tree trunk between two pillars with *Trifulas* behind the throne. Here, however, tree and throne, which are inseparable, are in any case separated by the architecture. The task before the artist was: "The adoration of the Bodh tree at Bodh Gayā", and he rendered this scene clearly and unequivocally, making use of all the motifs prevalent at Bodh Gayā.

Plate 23

From Bārḥūt to Amarāvati, early Indian art considered it as one of its principal tasks to describe the legends clustering round the Buddha in such a way that even those unable to read could make themselves conversant with them. In order to realize this aim, the artists had recourse to the "continuous narrative method". Simultaneous contemporary events are rendered by a juxtaposition in space, and a person appears several times in the same panel. The impossibility of such a situation is not felt, nay, it is even required, for the clearness of the narrative has above all to be observed.

But "the continuous narrative method" is employed only in so far as it does not clash with another principle which may be termed the "topographical arrangement". The example of the Vidhura Pandita Jātaka will best explain what is meant.

The Nāga queen Vimāla believes that she must die if she does not get the heart of the wise Vidhura. Her daughter Irandati induces the Yakṣa Purnaka to play at dice for the Pandit with the Korava king, Vidhura's master. Purnaka wins and carries off the sage through the air. In order to kill him Purnaka tries to dash the head of the sage against the rock, and as this is of no avail he wants to throw him into an abyss. Vidhura finally inquires as to the reason for such an unfriendly treatment. He soon understands that Vimāla is anxious to hear him and not to have his heart. He converts the Yakṣa, who hands him over alive, and is brought back richly laden with gifts.

To this story the entire side of a pillar was assigned at Bārḥūt, which is divided into several panels cross-wise, so that rectangular surfaces of various widths are obtained. The individual scenes are distributed as follows: Purnaka and Irandati in the Himalaya; the Yakṣa and the Sage before the Nāga pair; the

Plate 24

wonderful ride through the air and the concession of Purnaka; and finally the playing at dice between the Yakṣa and the Korava prince.

The continuity of the narrative is here inconsiderately interrupted, for the attempt to read the whole story from the bottom to the top is frustrated by the indication of locality in the upper panel. The rocks, trees and wild beasts clearly indicate that the scene takes place in the Himalaya.

/// In reality, the chronological connection is intentionally broken up in favour of an arrangement which puts the various scenes of action one by the side of the other. For the artist, the immovable locality is something stationary, permanent, while the *dramatis personae* are conceived as changing and shifting. The principal actions of the latter are represented one after the other within the same locality, as is the case in the ride through the air, but it may also happen that two episodes, wide apart in time, appear in juxtaposition because they have taken place in the same surroundings. This phenomenon occurs frequently and was established by Foucher also at Ajantā (8). It is a characteristic product of Indian logic which sullenly thinks out a problem to the end regardless of reality.///

/// The careful observer will soon be struck with the small display of types exhibited by the artist of this time. The deviations from the scheme, in accordance with which the individual figures are distinguished, are small indeed, and when a larger crowd is to be represented the figures exhibit a surprising similarity. X

At Bārhūt there are a few pronounced types which must have received their final shapes previously from the hand of the woodcarvers, such as the goddess of fortune, Lakṣmi, and the woman whose foot touches a tree, while one of her hands is grasping its leaves. It is precisely this motif which can be followed up well into the Middle Ages, no matter to what religion either artists or patrons belonged.

We will now make a few observations with regard to the rendering of the drapery. Men and women wear a cloth round the loins, often reaching down to the calves of the legs and tied up in a knot in front in the middle. The garments worn by both sexes seem to have consisted of a thin veil-like texture closely clinging to the body. In any case the drapery is represented in such a way that the thighs appear to be almost naked, the hems only and a few finely incised lines indicating the existence of drapery. The flowing ends and the

girdle made of coarser material frequently form a compact mass which is expressed by means of flat fold lines. At first this part of the garment was only reluctantly separated from the body; it closes the cavity between the thighs like a carefully ironed apron. Later on the garment acquires a certain volume of its own and raises certain particular pretensions.

Curt Glaser thought that he could detect Greek influence in the cast of the drapery on these Yakṣas and Yakṣinis of Bārḥūt. The wave-lines rendering the hems reminded him of similar patterns in the archaic art of Greece (9). This is quite comprehensible, and yet it is a mistake, for nothing warrants a connection. The great interval of time alone between the last appearance in Hellas and the beginnings in India may well surprise the student. After the Persian wars plastic art in Greece follows quite different paths; and classic art, and above all Hellenism, would no longer recognize this constrained manner of arranging the hems.

In the Yakṣa from Pārkhām, which may have been executed about 200 B.C., this manner is once more exhibited. Now this work is, both in figuration and conception, purely Indian, as the name handed down by an inscription leaves us in no doubt that the artist was a Hindu.

Conclusive evidence, however, of the fact that no Western influence can be made responsible for this figuration is to be found in the circumstance that no trace of it is to be found in the early works of the Gandhārian plastic art. Where Greece came into contact with India, the motif ought to have discontinued at once, if, as supposed by Glaser, it had been alive and effective beyond the archaic art.

In reality, it is a question of a new and independent formation. This again is not surprising, for this sort of drapery is to be met with everywhere, both where plastic art is in the beginning of its development and where new primitive conceptions gain the ascendancy. Thus it happened in Gandhāra towards A.D. 80, when the indigenous element began to obtain more strongly, in China during the V and VI centuries, in Japan during the X, and in Nepal during the XIX century.

If we now examine the Jāṭaka reliefs of Bārḥūt, we shall notice that the harshness is attenuated in several works: the hard contours have been softened and a greater superiority becomes manifest in the structure.

A link has thus been established with Bodh Gayā. There the Buddhist legends are reproduced only upon the semicircular parts of the posts meeting the beam which, in its turn, was adorned with lotus flowers and animals in motion. The posts themselves are, as at Bārhūt, bevelled at the sides, only the bevelling is more daring and effective. As another link may be claimed the "royal busts" which occupy the middle of several pillars, and whose prototypes are evidently the medallions of Bārhūt. The heads are more delicate but modelled with less care. The softening of the means of expression is accompanied by a softening of the effect, the sublime aspect of the Bārhūt heads having had to give way to a friendly, somewhat insignificant expression.

Plates 41, 42

The reliefs are freed of all unnecessary deadweight, a critical and rigorous selection being made and the indispensable retained. The need of order and clearness is unmistakable, and the unsteady medley, which on the medallions of Bārhūt was felt to be charming, has now become impossible.

The objects are imagined as three-dimensional forms and always placed in a principal view parallel to the ground. Overshadowing is carefully avoided, although it is not excluded on principle. Uncomplicated and clear figuration is more particularly appreciated. One perceives throughout a healthy restraint, as if the artists were anxious to try their power first on simple subjects and to get practice for the great tasks of the future.

The pillar-reliefs with their great figures exhibit a considerable progress in the conception of the human figure, the body being conceived as an organic whole. The motion now appears to be freer and more natural, and instead of the hard, sharp lines and the angular refractions, softly drawn contours joining the forms are now exhibited.

Plates 34, 39

Of greater iconographic and also of local interest is the figure on the North-Eastern corner-pillar at Bodh Gayā, representing a man holding a bundle of grass in his raised arm. It was erected by Queen Nāgadevā during the first half of the last century B.C., and shows Indra in the disguise of the Brahman Śanti as he offers to the Sublime, on his way to the Bodh tree, a handful of Kushā grass (10).

If we examine the contents of the monuments we are bound to assign to the period between 150 and 50 B.C. the fragments of two Yakṣas from Mathurā. Besides the dress, the style with its hard lines, sometimes also the exaggerated large and protruding eyes, point to the time between 150 and 100 B.C.

Plate 71

At Sānchī a few pillars from the railing of Stūpa III (11) date from the middle of the II century B.C. Here we notice, in addition to the primitiveness of conception, a provincial workmanship, and the result is a series of figures of a particularly uncouth appearance; one has only to notice the coarse heaviness of the vegetable decorations.

Plate 107 The reliefs of the Stūpa at Jaggayyapeta, situated in the vicinity of Amarāvati in Southern India, belong to the same period. They are of special interest because, as we are here in Southern India, we can speak of a local character already evident in the first productions. In the works from Jaggayyapeta one notices the same preference for very slim figures, a preference which is manifested three centuries later at Amarāvati, where the artists never seemed to have had enough of the tall and narrow figures.

Here it will be interesting to point out how quickly false conclusions can be drawn when the means of expression of which a given period disposed are unknown to us. Thus, in an otherwise ingenious and instructive essay, E. Senart considers the foundations upon which the figures in a relief from Jaggayapeta are standing to be clouds, and he is therefore of opinion that the scene is taking place in boundless space (12). A glance at the other relief ought to have sufficed to show that the suggestion is wrong. There one sees the adoration of the sacred footprints, and the worshipper standing outside the structure has under his feet the same foundation which Burgess takes for cushions and Senart for clouds.

Plate 107 I do not say that the scene has been falsely interpreted as far as the contents are concerned. It is a representation of the Chakravartin, the ruler of the world, and his seven jewels. But the figures and animals do not stand upon clouds, the latter being indicated by small half-round figurations, sticking to the upper edge of the image. Senart's "cloud" is in reality nothing else than a piece of ground or some other firm foundation upon which the figure is imagined to be standing, otherwise it would have appeared to the Hindu of that period as soaring in space. The contrary is thus intended of what Senart had supposed. A few of the early pillars of Stūpa III at Sānchī, where a similar phenomenon may be observed, definitely dissipate the last doubt (13).

The relief representing a man placing his right hand upon the head of a boy belongs to a later period towards the close of the century and the beginning of the next. It was discovered at Amarāvati. There is still some harshness

manifest, but it is not so pronounced as at Bārḥūt, while on the other hand, the decorative scheme of Bodh Gayā has not yet been attained. Of the same character are the torso of a man and a few fragments of a railing.

Plates 108-109

Of the same style are also the reliefs of the Vihara cave at Bhājā in the West, and the reliefs of the Ananta cave at Khaṇḍagiri in Eastern India.

*Plates 63-64,
133*

One sees that the decorative scheme of the early period is not limited to a fixed locality. Wherever the artistic impulse is awakened it manifests itself in the same manner, be it at Bārḥūt or at Mathurā, at Sānchī or Amarāvātī. And although differences in landscape are noticeable very early, although the heavy Northern style is clearly distinguished from the easier touch of the South, what is common to both is even stronger and puts its clear and unmistakable stamp upon these first productions.

This is not surprising, as both the social arrangement and the intellectual and spiritual foundations of India were at that time everywhere similar. Besides, a frequent intercourse connected, in all probability, the States in Northern India. Thus the marks of the stonemasons in the Karoṣṭi script which were discovered on the Eastern gate at Bārḥūt, show that Hindus from the North-West were here at work. This fact explains the Persian traces in the four columns of the gate as well as the typical Western-Asiatic mixed forms of the lions with human and griffin's heads (14).

Plates 16-17, 33

A place for itself is occupied by the Garuda pillar of Besnagar, which, bearing evidence of a diplomatic intercourse between Central India and the Greek dominion in the North-West, is of historical rather than of artistic interest (15).

Plate 14

In its dimensions the pillar is much smaller than those of Aśoka, and the disparity between its aspect and that of its monumental prototypes is also considerable. The shaft, consisting of one piece, is brownish with a rough surface. The lower part - it is about one-third to-day, since the soil has risen and a terrace has been erected round it - has eight angles and is furnished with an ornamentation consisting of half-lotus flowers; above, it is divided into sixteen panels. Then follows a broad cluster of fruit, and finally the shaft continues towards the summit with a surface divided into thirty-two panels. The last stretch is smooth, and the capital exhibits the well-known Indian bell-shape. Upon the remains of the abacus a few geese can still be distinguished inclining

one towards the other. The whole structure was originally crowned by a Garuda.

The inscription indicates that "the Garuda pillar had been erected at the command of Heliodoros, son of Dion from Taxila, a Greek envoy of King Antialcidas to King Bhagabhadra, son of the princess of Benares, the Saviour, in the fourteenth year of his reign" (16).

From the inscription it becomes further evident that Heliodoros was a follower of Viṣṇu and not a Buddhist. This leads in any case to the conclusion that this religion at that time did not command in the North-West of India that power which belonged to it in the I century A.D.

gave X The question therefore with regard to the date of the Garuda pillar is of extreme importance. Antialcidas must probably have been the successor of Heliodoros and come to power about 120 B.C. (17). With the aid of the Purāṇas it can then be established that the fourteenth year of King Bhagabhadra corresponds approximately to the year 90 B.C. (18).

The pillar of Besnagar stands somewhat apart, the line of development running from Bārhūt by way of Bodh Gayā to Sāñchī. One may of course feel tempted to include the productions of Bodh Gayā among those of the second period of early Indian plastic art. The figure of Śānti is seen as an entity and some of the small reliefs show a conscious limitation to the essentials and an arrangement of the elements which have no longer anything in common with the rich medley of the Bārhūt reliefs.

In spite of all this the productions of Bodh Gayā must be assigned to the early period; the figures still appear to be unsteady and without sufficient firmness, while the reliefs of a narrative character, perhaps in a higher degree than hitherto, appear to be dependent upon the ground level. In Bodh Gayā, the artist, rightly conscious of his own limited gifts, avoids the great scenes with their abundance of personnel and equipment. This scanty speech is much more closely related to the unskilled, unpractised and harsh mode of expression of Bārhūt than it is to the unchecked and exuberant joy in the easy flow of the narrative as it exists from the very start at Sāñchī.

NOTES

- 1] E. HULTZSCH, *Indian Antiquary*, 1892, 227. Besides: J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 138. The Śuṅga-dynasty ruled from 184-72 B.C. Here it is a question of the Śuṅgas as suzerains, because the founder Vacchiputra was to all appearance their vassal. It is rather remarkable that his name should also appear at Mathurā. Cf. E. J. Rapson, C.H.I., p. 523. From an inscription on a railing which mentions Prince Vadha Pala, son of Dhanabhuti, it is evident that gate and railing were erected simultaneously (CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bārḥūt*, London, 1879, o.142, No. 54).
- 2] ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bārḥūt*, London, 1879, p. 15. He authorized Anderson to mention 150 as the date of the erection, cf. J. ANDERSON, *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1883.
- 3] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 624.
- 4] L. A. WADDELL, *Date of the Bārḥūt Sculptures*, J.R.A.S. 1914, pp. 138 f. Cf. *Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images and Art. Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Woking, 1912, pp. 137 f.
- 5] TH. BLOCH, *Notes on Bodh Gayā*, A.S.R. 1908-9, p. 147.
- 6] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 626 f.
- 7] Plate 50, lower architrave.
- 8] A. FOUCHER, *Lettres d'Ajantā*, J.A., 1921, p. 203.
- 9] CURT GLASER, *Die Entwicklung der Gewanddarstellung in der Ostasiatischen Plastik*, O.Z., III, p. 399.
- 10] Cf. L. BACHHOFFER, *Eine Pfeilerfigur aus Bodh Gayā*, *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1925, p. 73 f.
- 11] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Sānchī*, A.S.R., 1913-14, Pl. 18; *A Guide to Sānchī*, Pl. 13 a-b.
- 12] E. SENART, *Notes d'Epigraphie indienne*, III, J.A., 1890, p. 145 note.
- 13] A.S.R., 1913-14, Pl. 18 b, d.
- 14] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 625; On the discovery: A.S.R. (CUNNINGHAM), VI, p. 188.
- 15] D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Excavations at Besnagar*, A.S.R., 1913-14, pp. 187 f., Pl. 52-53; J. PH. VOGEL, *The Garuda Pillar at Besnagar*, A.S.R., 1908-9, pp. 126 ff., Pl. 43.
- 16] A.S.R., 1908-9, p. 129.
- 17] E. J. RAPSON, C.H.I., p. 522.
- 18] *Ibid.*, p. 521.

A FEW stūpas have been preserved at Sānchī (State of Bhopal), and, thanks to the wonderful work of the Archaeological Survey, restored to such an extent that the original effect of such a structure can be readily realized.

The most important of these is the great stūpa. It consists of a hemispherically shaped dome flattened at the top, upon which is placed the parasol of honour surrounded by a quadrangular railing. Round about the solid structure runs a terrace accessible on the South side by two stairways which are also fenced in. The entire structure is surrounded by a colossal stone railing to which admittance is gained at the four cardinal points through large gates, each with three architraves. The doors are situated in front of the railing and are so arranged that the visitor has to turn twice at right angles to reach the processional path situated behind (1).

Three stages can be easily distinguished in the structure: The principal portion, going back to the Maurya period, is built in brick; a century later it was covered up with stone and brought up to its present size; it was at that period also that the terrace and the basement railing were constructed. Of the latest date are the four monumental gates, whose richly ornamented reliefs may be considered as the most important evidence of the nature of Indian sculpture during the century about the Birth of Christ (2).

At the Southern gate there is an inscription which offers at least some ground for the supposition of a date of the structure; the inscription indicates that one of the architraves owed its origin to a certain Ānamda, who was overseer of the artisans of King Śrī Sātakaṇi (3). The second King of this name can, of course, only be meant, whose reign must probably have fallen between the years 15 and 20 B.C. (4). Marshall has therefore suggested the latter half of the I century B.C., and nobody has contradicted him (5).

By the aid of a criticism of style it can be easily established that the Southern gate was the first to be erected, followed by the Northern, Eastern and Western gates. This, of course, does not yet say anything with regard to the interval of time between the first and the last gate. But as the identical name of the patron, Balamitra, a disciple of Aya-chuda (6), occurs upon the oldest and the latest gate, a very long time cannot have elapsed between their respective constructions.

The researches of Grünwedel and Foucher have finally made it possible to understand again the contents of the reliefs. With few exceptions they illustrate episodes from the life of Buddha, and events belonging to the time before his birth, and after his death (7).

These stories are narrated in easy, cheerful tone, just as if a storyteller were relating them, dwelling upon and giving the details of minor incidents, lovingly depicting idyllic scenes and finding an obvious joy in the description of festive and military pageants. This art is distinguished by a keen interest in worldly things rather than by a deep understanding of the pessimistic truths of salvation for the purpose of which these legends were after all intended to be made manifest to the people.

There is a delight taken in existence and in all things mundane which is unknown, nay, has become impossible to subsequent generations. The heart is unaffected and the eye is yearning for the beauty of this world. But now, after the strenuous effort of a century, the artist was able to express his feelings quite otherwise than in the manner prevalent at Bārḥūt.

One is no longer content with the stammering and clumsy speech recited reluctantly and incoherently. A long and detailed story is what is now required, and the sculptor puts his whole heart into the narrative when he relates so complacently both the minor incidents and the important events of life.

The life of contemporary India is unfolded before the spectator. Nothing is forgotten – neither life at court nor existence in town, in the country or in the jungles.

There we see a prince seated leisurely upon his throne, lady-dancers exhibiting their art in his presence; and here he is making an excursion. The elephants are joyfully raising their trunks, riders full of glee are galloping to and fro, flags are fluttering in the wind, escorts are marching by the side of the royal chariot, shouldering their bows, while musicians are walking in front. The balconies are crowded with people curious to behold the pageant; and even a bird on the roof is turning its head in the direction of the show. At the narrow city gate there is a throng, and a pachyderm advances his heavy head, but at last the crowd is in the open field. At last, one sees the King in a quiet grove where he worships the Sublime One.

Another time the ruler, bringing with him the relics of Buddha, is triumphantly returning to his residence. The whole town is astir, and once more

the balconies are crowded, and from the towers the guards are looking down. Already the first riders are galloping through the streets and we can see that they are restraining their fiery steeds.

These are the peaceful incidents. Soon a violent struggle ensues for the relics, leading to war and siege. Then the artist relates the expedition of the seven against Kusinara. In dense masses, the military are approaching, the vast body of an elephant towering mightily here and there. Cavalry and chariots full of soldiers can be seen. The vanguard is marshalled at the city gate, but hostilities have not yet begun. Posted upon towers and walls, the Kusinarians are breathlessly following the military display. Upon a third relief the fight has already broken out and the fortress is being attacked on all sides. The archers are trying to shoot down the garrison, while a scaling-party has waded through the river in front of the town and is slowly advancing towards the wall. A foolhardy soldier is trying to climb up the wall, but in the next moment his head will be split in twain, for the defence is not less violent than the attack; heavy stones are hurled down and the assailants are met with long lances. The result of the fight is also narrated upon the same relief. The assailants have conquered, and to the sound of military music they are carrying off the relics.

The artist has not only a predilection for the busy and exciting doings of the great world, but is also interested in the modest country-life. He is interested in the simple huts in front of which the women are pounding rice and baking cakes, finding also leisure to dally and joke with an idler; he is interested in the doings at the village pond where water is being drawn and the indolent buffalo is lolling about, stretching only its head out of the cool water. Even the life of the ascetics in the wood is not forgotten. An old hermit is seated in front of his dwelling, while the novices, together with the sacrificial animals, are bathing in the river, and apes are gambolling among the trees. Sometimes wood is being carried in and chopped, a fire is kindled, and provender is brought in from a begging expedition, all these scenes having the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics as their background. And just as not the slightest detail on the bridle-apparatus of either elephants or horses remains unnoticed, so every tree and bush is represented with all its characteristic marks, so that even the observer of to-day is able to tell to what particular species it belongs.

✓ The delight taken in reality is a trait characteristic of the entire early Indian plastic art, but the stream is now running clearly and calmly; it is no longer impeded as in the beginning, nor is it so rapid and precipitate as at the end of its course. Looking back from this point of view, the mundane sense may be noticed also in the first expressions of archaic art. It can be seen in the selection of the amusing Jātakas for the medallions at Bārḥūt and in the reliefs of the railings, where, by the side of sacred things, an interest is also taken in the pageant of some prince or in the lady-dancers. All this, however, still shows traces of groping; there is a certain timidity about it, while the present period had passed beyond the first steps and is drawing from plenty. ✓ The narrow circles within which the preceding generation had felt at home are broken through, and the boundary lines have been pushed forward towards free life, and the abundance of matter has increased considerably. ✓

✓ There is scarcely any need to speak of the use made of plant motifs. The archaic style, too, knew already the decorative possibilities which offered themselves, and availed itself of them to the full on the jambs and railings of Bārḥūt and Bodh Gayā. A new element is now added, namely the feeling for a rich and luxuriant flora. ✓

✓ A tree seldom stands alone; in most cases it has companions, sharing its fate, and is surrounded by small fry thriving and giving itself airs in its shadow. It is for these greater connections that the artist's eyes have now been opened. He is no longer arrested by the underwood in the virgin forest, and by the thicket and bushes on the city wall, captivated as he is by the exuberant wealth of the phenomena. The times when a small tree was picked out and made use of as a decorative item in the scenery are now definitely over. The symbolical connection is still retained, but a pipal-tree may now as frequently be depicted for itself as a piece of nature, and just therein lies the innovation. ✓

It is the same in the case of the fauna. As in every primitive art in India, too, we meet excellent images of animals, particularly of deer and antelopes. The suggestion made by Emanuel Löwy that from the very beginning more attention must have been paid to the unfamiliar appearance of a wild animal than to the self-evident daily event (8) seems to find here further corroboration. But this more or less "correct" representation is not what is really meant. ✓ Now the animal is looked at with other eyes; it is conceived as freer and more un-

affected, living its own existence. The proud self-evidence of the body of an animal was never so strongly felt in India as during the half-century preceding our era.

The powerfully developed sense for reality is everywhere noticeable. When it is a question of representing fabulous creatures, an attempt is made to reduce the improbability as far as possible; the antelopes on the North gate at Sānchī have received wings, and when dromedaries appear on the Eastern gate this fact is interesting in other respects besides that of an ethnographical, historical nature. They attest the lively sense of the Hindu of the period, who considered everything that was borne along by the stream of life as worthy of his love and attention.

But animals and plants must make room for man. The latter, too, is a sharer in a peculiar existence, conceived to be happy and beautiful. How firm he now stands upon his own legs, how freely he stretches his limbs and squares his shoulders as if some heavy load had been lifted from them. The human body now appears as a beautiful and harmonious union of the single parts, emphasizing their functional values; it is a well-constituted mechanism. One has only to compare the Kubera Yakṣa from Bārhūt with the figure of a guardian at Sānchī.

Plates 19, 58 The uncertain, spectral nature has become one denoting collected strength.

The impressive formulation has met the new feeling for life in the couple from Kārlī. Man and woman stand here one by the side of the other, truly noble vessels of a free and proud humanity, heroic bodies full of strength and self-assurance. If they are not gods themselves, they at least challenge with their happiness the celestial ones.

Plate 68

But even this art had its limitations; the gift and power to represent the divine was denied to it. The shyness to reproduce the Buddha in human shape is not, however, what we mean, the latter being explained by the embarrassment of a comparatively new faith. It finds its counterpart in early Christian art, where literary evidence enables us to gain an insight into the motives of such a restraint. But when the gods of the Buddhist Paradise show themselves they appear in the guise of temporal princes indulging in the joys of an aristocratic existence; they are surrounded by bayadères and lady-musicians exhibiting their alluring arts. There is no trace of the majesty and inaccessibility of the later images of the gods, fantasy and imagination being tied to the narrow and yet so wide circle of the purely Human.

It is obvious that the new disposition availed itself also of new means of expression. In a measure, as the attitude towards the objects themselves had changed, the decorative scheme, too, changes. It is a consistent organic growth of forms, abrupt and unexpected innovations never being met with. Everything which had been latent, lying hidden in the germ of the early art, now unfolds and develops freely, fully and entirely. The reserved harsh lines gradually soften until they begin to flow harmoniously, the harsh contours are as far as possible avoided. The unwieldy, cumbrous and fidgety nature is softened down and the line appears to the eye as a clear and sure path.

// This becomes evident in a work like the guardian of Sānchī. It is important to notice how the line runs here in one stroke from the shoulders down to the ankles, and thus only has the contour become the true bearer of the image. Just the intersection of the left hand is instructive, the turned-aside wrist meeting the contour line of the torso, so that the gaze is not impeded. There is no need to call attention to the parallelism existing between the inner and outer contours, how necklace and neck fit in, how garment and girdle go hand in hand, without any friction, with the contours of the limbs.

The taming of the eccentric contour to an orderly course is not yet all; everywhere there may now be noticed a feeling for the constructive value of the horizontal and the vertical. With this feeling is connected the preference for the right angle, the constructive effect of which is recognized and thoroughly made use of; in this manner the head is everywhere brought out in a pronounced contrast to the shoulder-line. It is, however, the figure-reliefs which derive the greatest advantage from the new arrangement of the large framework. Thus it is in particular at Kārī, the latest example of the classical period, where hardly a line is to be found that did not find its counterpart in the framework and derive the most valuable help from this circumstance.

// That chiaroscuro which at Bārḥūt and Bodh Gayā was obtained only where the forms were put close together, now asserts itself fully in the narrative and decorative reliefs with small figures. A dark shade nestles between the illuminated figures, covering the entire neutral ground. Whereas during the archaic period the shade was closely connected with the individual object, here it fulfils on principle a different function, namely that of constituting the common ground, with which all the light forms are to contrast. It is the result of a conscious artistic deliberation.

In contradistinction, however, to the dark shadow or the colour-shadow the darkness of the Indian reliefs plays a decidedly subservient rôle.

It is not intended to be anything else but a dark surface setting off into "the right light" the plastic form, whereas in the "coloured shade" darkness and light are of equal value, the darkness being as important a colour-value as is the white or coloured surface in the light. It was therefore quite consistent when Islamic decoration substituted dark lines for the deep shadow of plastic ornamentation in its ceramic art.

The shaded ground or the effect of chiaroscuro could be the more easily produced, as the already strong feeling for volume soon developed to full strength, and the "horror vacui" imperiously demanded a crowded filling out of the surface. In the rich and extraordinarily finely graduated relief the forms are now projected, and as a result of the dense occupation of the surface a shadow rarely falls upon the ground. It is soon compressed by another form so that it serves the purpose of a dark ground on two sides. This plan was from the very start carried out at Sānchī with wonderful cleverness.

Plates 68, 134-
136

The mastery of volume is effected on a wide front, and in the figure reliefs of the precipitous rocks at Kārli and Udayagiri we have the final results of a long development, while at the gates of Sānchī we are able to observe this development step by step. At the Southern gate, the oldest of the monumental gates, the bodies are modelled comparatively flat within the sharply set off contour; while at the youngest Western gate they are powerfully projected, being rendered almost entirely round. The powerfully bulging and full figures, the elastic, spherical forms do not again disappear from the period when the Northern gate was erected.

In the treatment of the drapery, too, a greater energy is noticeable. The scarfs, closely adhering to the body, the flat ends of which have the appearance of ironed aprons tied on, disappear. The artist attempts to take into consideration the weight of the garment and thus free it, more than had hitherto been done, from its subjection to the body and so render it independent. His effort is not everywhere crowned with equal success. He succeeds best with the erect standing figures, for where there is a pronounced movement sideways, as in the case of the Yakṣi caryatides or the walking figures, the drapery clings to the body, showing but little inclination to be taken as a separate and distinct volume. Only at the height of development, as in the figures at Kārli and those

on the lower storey of the Rānī Gumphā at Udayagiri, the garment no longer looks like a skin upon the body but is conceived and rendered as an independent element; it bags when it is gathered up and one almost sees how it gets crumpled when it is taken hold of.

The material is also rendered more convincingly than it was in the early period; for one can now clearly distinguish between the veil-like tissues of the feminine garments and the coarser cloth the men are wont to tie round themselves. The slight curdling of the muslin, as it can, for instance, be seen at Kārli, is the natural dissolution of that abstract schematic skein of folds of the Yakṣis of Bārḥūt.

The rigid forms change for the first time in a female figure of Besnagar, which on account of this fact and also of the powerful modelling of the body, has to be placed in the beginning of the advanced period. The enlivenment of the drapery, still hesitating and reserved, passes beyond Kārli and Udayagiri and reaches its goal only in the quaint works of Mathurā and Amarāvati.

Plate 61

Hand in hand with the improvement and the development of the contour, as bearer of the representation, goes a continually increasing tendency for tectonics. The clarification of the tectonic perception can be best followed up in the construction of the four gates in the great stūpa at Sānchī. At the Southern gate the square support diminishes rather quickly and rounds off beneath a circular plinth. From the four-panelled lion-crowned capital rises up a second capital applied six times and extending upwards in slight curves upon which lies the lowest architrave (9). The impression of the whole structure is unsteady and inorganic.

Plate 46

At the Northern gate the solution is more advanced, the jamb retaining its form up to the plinth, which is also quadrangular. A four-panelled elephant-crowned capital supports the other widening capital. The function of the Yakṣis on both sides is not to be conceived as really tectonic. They have not enough firmness for that, and besides, have nothing to carry; on the contrary, the two fairies are suspended in the branches of the trees whose trunks enclose their bodies as in a broad bay. Their task is therefore more of a decorative than of a structural nature, and we had better not speak of caryatides.

The small busts which were affixed to the volutes of the Southern gate are to be found on the Northern gate only upon the lowest beam and were subsequently omitted as being too inorganic.

Plates 47-49

The Eastern gate, the next in order of time, attempts another solution. Here, too, are quadrangular jambs and crowns, but here the artist had evidently reached a point of view where he felt the hitherto employed quadripartite groups of animal half-figures to be vague and unnatural. The elephants are retained and seem to be walking round a massive block supporting the upper structure. The result is not a very happy one; the heavy beasts being set up in a rather confused manner, and their part in the task of supporting being quite vague and uncertain. In spite of all the abundance there is not the slightest organic connection between the capitals and the panels in the corners. The trunk of the mango-tree is winding up on the inner side of the space that has to be filled out; together with the figure, the result is a triangular composition more easily adapted to the given circumstances than the Northern gate.

Plate 50

The eye, which has followed this constant quest after more rigorous order, can rest content at the most recent Western gate. Jambs and plinths are quadrangular, this formulation having been retained as it possesses the required measure of tectonics. What is, however, decisive is the manner in which the subject of the capitals has been treated; the animals who had been contending for space have been exchanged for four dwarfs who, with outstretched arms, are supporting a plinth. The advantage arising from this innovation is considerable, for the impression of something complete, regular and natural is now produced.

Plates 52, 53

That this solution was felt to be final and typical has been clearly and unmistakably expressed in the advanced period; the fifth gate at Sānchī, that of the stūpa III, consists of the same elements. Experiments were frequently made in the construction of the capitals and at each gate of the great stūpa the problem has been solved in a different way. It was only the construction of the Western gate which was considered to be perfect and as such unhesitatingly tried again.

Plates 54-56

The striving after clarification and condensation prevails not less emphatically in the representative and narrative reliefs. Of course, it means but little when the panelling, whether ornamental or figurative, on the small quadrangular cubes of support and the "false capitals" is arranged in strict symmetry, as both size and motif equally demand some such solution. Of much greater importance is the mastery of the historical contents. One has only to compare the early relief of the "Siege of Kusinara" on the Southern gate with the conception

of a similar subject on the Western gate. All that was rendered there in a contradictory, dispersed and scattered manner, is arranged here in one big design running over the entire surface, and it is only now that shape and contents correspond one to the other. In the less animated scenes the regulating scheme becomes even more rigorous, as in the "Departure of Siddhārtha from Kapilavastu" or in "The visit of Aśoka at the Bodh tree" on the Eastern gate. Here the connection through the edges has been more clearly expressed, and the means of stabilizing the masses becomes more manifest. It consists in the use made of the vertical lines which with short bars introduce order into the multitude. If the horizontal line, as an element lending compactness, has not been so frequently made use of, this is due to the size which, on account of its great width, already produces an effect in that sense. The drawing up on parade of Aśoka's suite is intended to give to the whole, through its contrast to the broad alignment, a firmness and a hold. The accentuation of the central part of the image on the two reliefs is a decisive step forward against the tectonic ideal of the period; the surface of the images is intended to appear as something measurable, regulated, well articulated, as something that is calculable.

Plates 47, 53

Plate 50

There is no better proof for this than the representation of the Chhaddanta Jātaka upon the Western gate. The legend runs as follows:

Plate 52

During one of his former existences the Buddha was king of a herd of elephants distinguished by six tusks and their considerable size. He had two wives, one of whom was very jealous; she begged therefore to be born again in the shape of a woman and to be made queen of Benares so that she could have an opportunity of revenging herself. Her request was granted. She sends the hunter Sonuttara to Chhaddanta's pond with instructions to kill her former husband. The plot succeeds, and the dying elephant makes the assassin a gift of his tusks which are to serve as evidence of the accomplished deed. Sonuttara brings the trophy to Benares, and when the queen sets her eyes on it her heart breaks.

This story had already occupied an artist on the Southern gate. There the life and doings of the elephants in the wilderness were depicted. To the left the story begins thus: the king is bathing in the Lotus pond and is recognizable by his six tusks and the insignia of his dignity, namely the parasol and the fly-brush which is held over him. Then the scene shifts to the right into the forest, where at the

Plate 47 very edge the hunter had hidden himself behind rocks and is just getting ready with his bow.

There is no need to point out the signs indicating that this is one of the oldest reliefs of Sānchī. What is important is the fact that the centre of the image is indicated by a rather bulky tree, but that the general action passes beyond it with perfect ease.

At the Western gate this has changed entirely. There, too, a tree is standing in the centre, but the motif is in this case presented much more convincingly, because the symmetrical arrangement of the big animals and of the smaller trees wafts unto it from both sides an immense strength, while the motion is swelling rhythmically from the edges towards the centre. There is nothing to be seen of the hunter, and only the elephant with his six tusks enables us to guess at the subject. The entire image gives the impression of the worship of a sacred tree. It is just the turning of the narrative contents into the representation of a pure co-existence which is rather significant, as it proves to what an extent the true facts can be veiled for the sake of the decorative scheme.

There is practically no disparity between the case of the panels on the gate jambs and the broad middle pieces of the architrave. How the solution was imagined there, the "Return to Kapilavastu" on the Eastern gate best shows: the entire relief is crossed by a system of horizontals and verticals which support it and keep it in order. The consonance between the frames and the principal directions of the composition is particularly instructive.

The style of a perfect model was not developed at the start. Just as the architecture had to travel the way from South, North, East and West gate before it could reach a final solution, so the sculptor had to take up his themes frequently before he could obtain a satisfactory result. Here it could be objected that at the South gate a symmetrical composition already occurs, whereas at the West gate it is continuous, without emphasizing the centre. This is of course true, but here too central composition does not signify the end, and it can be easily seen that a work like "The war of relics" upon the West gate is conceived more tectonically and in accordance with rules than are the symmetrically decorative devices upon the South gate.

In order to form a clear notion of the change of the style, one must distinguish between and keep apart the representative and the historical images and follow their respective developments separately. A subject like "The war of relics",

which contained such variegated and violent action, could not very well be remodelled into a solemn configuration, and it is already a considerable artistic achievement to have dared and accomplished it in the Chhaddanta Jātaka. Here it should also be pointed out that the occurrence of the identical motif upon different gates seems to be the result of a wish expressed by the pious founder or patron. It is quite probable that the artist had no freedom of choice in the selection of the subject, but in the majority of cases had to submit to the wish of his patron.

Be it, however, as it may, the fact that the way led to a severely closed form and that the latter, attained only after many a struggle, was considered to be the most suitable, becomes evident from the gate of Stūpa III, which for the history of art is the more valuable as it is the simple classical solution. There we find again the dwarf capital, whereas for the panelling of the architrave, similar to the Chhaddanta Jātaka upon the Western gate, the central arrangement has been chosen as the most suitable. The impression of symmetry, proportion and repose is thus stronger than it is upon any other gate of the great stūpa. Even in the division of the jamb spaces the parts minutely correspond one to the other. When in the upper rectangle of the jamb there is a stūpa to the left and a wheel to the right, this is due to a consideration of cult.

Quite early the classical period was urged by the sharp observation of reality to account for the relation existing between objects. It proceeded in a definite manner, namely by grouping a few objects in such a way as to allow their position in space directly to be grasped. If the artist sometimes succeeded in representing convincingly two men in front of a hut which, in its turn, is surrounded by trees, he could not always manage it without the help of abstract hints and references.

But even in the most favourable cases the interest remains centred in the objects, the idea of a uniform, all-embracing space being unknown.

This period knows nothing of depth-extension in a spacial sense, and is capable only of imagining bodies or groups of bodies either in juxtaposition or placed one behind the other, whereby the boundaries are more or less cleverly disguised by means of an ensconced landscape or an architectural design.

The device of overshadowing is profusely made use of, so as to illustrate the fact that the objects are placed one behind the other. The most important scene

is enacted at the edge, as if upon a stage when the actors step up to the footlights. As a consequence the personages are arranged in row, running parallel to the base line, and the scheme is frequently repeated wherever it is possible. The desire for depth effect is never stirred, and in very difficult cases the artist rests content with rather primitive indications.

Plate 58

The objection that the arrangement in parallel lines is conditioned by the broad shape of the architrave is not a valid one, for it occurs also in oblong forms. Thus the "Return to Kapilavastu" on the Eastern gate is divided into three panels, one above the other, by means of a row of houses and a structure which has the appearance of a rampart covered with plants. Within these cells the figures press forward to the light, as if anxious for a place in the sun.

The desire for complete elucidation induced the artists at Bārhūt to turn unhesitatingly to inscriptions. At Bodh Gayā already, and later on at Sānchī, the sculptor declined this device as being inartistic. According to Foucher, however, a sort of "optical image explanation" was resorted to, under which expression we have to understand that individual objects or entire scenes were introduced into a relief with which they had nothing whatever to do.

We may take as an example the "Return to Kapilavastu", on the right jamb of the Eastern gate, where on the right edge the conception of Maya, playing in a roof garden, is depicted. This scene has nothing to do with the principal subject of the relief, for here the home-coming of Buddha, returning to his native town forty years after that miraculous conception, is represented. The description has no other purpose than that of indicating that the place of action is Kapilavastu, the birthplace and home of Gautama. It is just that law of "topographical arrangement" which Foucher discovered at Ajanṭā and which in his view has generally asserted itself, that warrants the assumption that the artist intended indeed to relate both events. The connection of two events lying wide apart in time does not strike the Hindu as something impossible, as long as both events had taken place in the same locality.

Clear impressive contours sketching in long strokes the outlines of the image and holding it safely together, powerful conception of the volume, a more evident display of the elements in the space, a greater emphasis laid upon the structural side and the contents fitted entirely into the frame, such are the typical traits of Indian sculpture during the latter half of the last century before

John the birth of Christ. These characteristics did not manifest themselves at once, but were slowly developed from the old scheme.

All the characteristics of style which have just been enumerated are encountered again in an extensive measure on the various couples of Kārī in West India. These reliefs, considering the masterful manner in which the means of expression are controlled, were probably executed long after the most recent gate of Sānchī. *John*

Heavier, bearing a somewhat rustic stamp, like everything that emanates from this district, is the so-called Āmohinī-tablet from Mathurā. It is dated in the second month of the winter of the year 72 (11). As Rapson has already pointed out, it can be a question of only one Indian era, the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), as the indication of the month is given after the Hindu fashion. This would give us the date A.D. 14. Attention must also be called to the fact that the analysis of the style excludes the assumption of another era.

John Plate 74

Here one has a right to speak of a local style. In this locality, the home of one of the most important schools of sculpture in Old India, there exists a latent tendency to harsh line-drawing, to heavy massive forms. In spite, however, of this fact, the decorative scheme undergoes a change as time advances, and what is more decisive, it keeps pace with the other parts of the Empire. The style of the Āmohinī tablets is no doubt typical for Mathurā, but it is also typical for the period when the gates of Sānchī were ornamented with reliefs. This remark applies also to the two fragments of posts with figure decorations which, though discovered at Amin (Punjab), hail from Mathurā. The similarity to the reliefs of Sānchī is surprising (12). *John*

Such is also the case with a few productions of the South-Indian locality Amarāvati. A few fragments unearthed there undoubtedly belong to the period treated here. In addition to the fact that the dress of the worshippers closely resembles the garments worn on the reliefs of Sānchī, a minute examination of the means of representation warrants the conclusion that these works must have been executed during the same period (13). *John*

Plate 120, bottom
to the right

A few reliefs on the lower storey of the Rānī Gumpa in the Udayagiri hills (Orissa) equally exhibit all the characteristics of this period. Here the problem of dating the work is all the more complicated as a certain provincial primitiveness is coupled with a rather advanced clear representation. But a minute analysis of even these works will furnish us with information. The powerful

rendering of the volume, the stress laid upon the vertical and horizontal lines, clearly speak in favour of and warrant the assumption of the date being within the I century A.D. Certain liberties, such as the violent movements of a few lady-musicians, appearing between two gate arches, the very free and fluent ornamentation of one arch, go, however, beyond the designs and devices which one was accustomed to see at Sānchī. They point to the II century A.D., when such things were to become customary.

Plates 136-137

In conclusion, it should also be pointed out that a number of jambs from Bodh Gayā exhibit a striking similarity with the reliefs of Sānchī. The difference in style existing between the reliefs of the first half of the last century B.C. and those which we are now discussing is too striking to warrant the assumption of their belonging to one and the same period. The daring and energetic incision of the chisel into the stone, setting off the contrast between the illuminated bodies and the darkness of the background, does not appear earlier than on the Northern gate of Sānchī, whereas the symmetrical partition of the jambs, the accentuated framework of the individual panels, and the tectonic composition, all correspond entirely to the style of the gate jambs of Sānchī. If one further takes into consideration the wealth of invention and the freedom of movement of the figures, then one may consider the jambs of Bodh Gayā to be of more recent date than those of Sānchī.

Plates 43-45

In the domain of round plastic work this period has also tried its hand, and leaving out the free figural ornaments of the Sānchī gates, we shall mention above all the Yakṣi of Besnagar and the somewhat unwieldy Mānibhadra Yakṣa of Gwalior.

Plates 61, 62

A history of art, unfamiliar with the natural and consistent growth and development of the shaping forces, could naturally not fail to try and discover external agents which would account for the great change between Bārhūt and Sānchī.

Thus Marshall believed that the substitution of the alto-relievo at Sānchī for the flat relief at Bārhūt was due to West-Asiatic influences. He may have been confirmed in his assumption by the existence of certain motifs which are of undoubted Western-Asiatic origin, such as the bell-crowned capital – usual from the very beginning but naturally also in its Indian form – winged monsters and vegetable ornaments, such as the “honeysuckle”. But the fact that certain

motifs have been adopted does not at all warrant the assumption that the entire form apparatus had also been taken over. The tendency to confound contents and style has already caused so much confusion in the history of Asiatic art that the necessity of drawing a distinction between the two cannot be sufficiently emphasized in the interests of exact knowledge. In this case there is no trace of either Persian or Assyrian influence in the reliefs of Sānchī. But if Marshall pretends that their black and white effect is "particularly characteristic of the Græco-Syrian art of this period", that is to say of the latter half of the last century B.C., then one might object that a Græco-Syrian art does not exist at all in this period and the entire problem of foreign influence is thus solved.

offen

NOTES

- 1] A. FOUCHER, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1917, p. 64. The dome is 12.80 m. in height and 32.30 m. in diameter. The terrace is situated 4.25 m. above ground and is 1.70 m. in width. The outside fence is 3.10 m. in height, and the gates rise to about 10 m. In the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin there is a cast of the Eastern gate, as also in Musée Guimet, Paris.
- 2] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Sānchī*, A.S.R., 1913-14, pp. 4 f.; *A Guide to Sānchī*, pp. 31 f.
- 3] *Ibid.*, p. 12. The inscription itself (H. LÜDERS, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 346) bears no evidence to the fact that an Āndhra king is meant, as might be gathered from Marshall's indication. Cf. Rāmaprāsād Chanda, *Date of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sānchī*; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 1, Calcutta, 1919.
- 4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 5] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.I., p. 627.
- 6] JOHN MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sānchī*, Southern gate Pl. 47, Western gate p. 71. Cf. H. Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Ep. Ind., Vol. x, App. No. 347, 349.
- 7] ALFRED GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1920. ALFRED FOUCHER, Eastern gate of Sānchī, in *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1917.

- 8] E. LÖWY, *Die Naturwiedergabe der älteren griechischen Kunst*, Rom, 1900, p. 14.
- 9] The capital is a mixture of independent clumsy work and an imitation of the lion-crowned capital ornamenting the Aśoka-pillar in the vicinity.
- 10] JOHN MARSHALL, *Guide to Sānchī*, p. 49; A. FOUCHER, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1917, p. 187; Jāṭaka No. 524.
- 11] A.S.R. 1922-23, Pl. v, 2, p. 90.
- 12] Not 42, as Rapson (C.H.I., p. 575) says. Cf. Lüders in Ep. Ind., ix, pp. 273 ff.
- 13] ALEXANDER REA, *Excavations at Amarāvātī*, A.S.R. 1908-9, Pl. 29 a-d, Pl. 30 a-i, Pl. 31 i.

THE LATE PERIOD

A.D. 75-200

THE further development of early Indian sculpture can best be studied in two localities lying widely apart one from the other, viz. at Mathurā on the Jumnā and at Amarāvati on the Kistnā.

Mathurā, a town with an ancient religious tradition, became during the reign of the Kuṣānā kings the home of one of the most important schools of sculpture in ancient India (1). The names of Kanīṣka and Huviṣka will constantly be mentioned in connection with the rise of the art of Mathurā.

Mathurā has supplied the entire North with its sculpture: the earliest dated specimen was discovered at Sārnāth (2), another was found in Set Mahet (3), a third in Bodh Gayā (4). Everywhere one encountered plastic art from Mathurā, easily to be recognized by its material, a red sandstone (5).

The arrangement with regard to time is greatly facilitated on account of the multitude of dated works, and there are sufficient signposts with the aid of which the dates of the numerous extant specimens can be fixed with approximate certainty. It is rather strange that no such attempt has hitherto been made (6).

The disparity between the stūpa of Amarāvati and that of Sānchī is rather significant. If we can rely upon the many representations on the reliefs, then the cupola rose upon a very high drum, the impression of the entire structure thus being lighter and gayer (7). The decisive innovation, however, consists in the fact that the circular building is now surrounded by two railings ornamented all over with reliefs.

The railings themselves resemble in their general appearance those of Sānchī and Bodh Gayā, the upright jambs being connected with each other by means of three stone lintels, while the heavy and strong upper beam is placed on the top. The outer fence was considerably higher than the inner one. Both have in common an exceedingly rich ornamentation, not the slightest spot of the light-coloured marble-like stone remaining unoccupied. This web of figures and ornaments covering the entire surface increases from the outer side of the great railing up to the inner side of the small fence and the relief plinths which cover the lower parts of the structure itself. Stylistical and iconographical reasons warrant the conclusion that these sculptures are of a more recent date than those of the great enclosure (8).

With regard to the time when the plastic accessories were executed, it is fixed by the inscriptions bearing the names of three Āndhra-princes, in whose domain the stūpa is located, the princes being Śrī Pulumavi, Śrī Śivamaka-Śāta and Śrī Yajnā (9).

The time when Śrī Pulumavi reigned has already been established by Burgess with approximate certainty, on the basis of a clever combination of various rock-inscriptions (10). According to the Purāṇas, this prince must have ascended the throne about A.D. 130 (11). This should be near the truth, because according to Rapson, the year A.D. 130/1 is taken to be the first of his reign.

Rapson believes that he can identify the Śrī Śivamaka-Śāta of an Amarāvati inscription (12) with King Śiva-Śrī-Śāta (karṇi), whose coins are very frequently found in the district of Amarāvati; he takes him to be a brother of Pulumavi (13). This seems to contradict the fact that all the Purāṇas place him after Pulumavi, conceding unto him a separate reign, seven years according to the Matsya Purāṇa, and four years according to the Brahmanda, Viṣṇu and Bhagavata Purāṇa. As according to these lists Pulumavi reigned twenty-eight or twenty-nine years, Śiva-Śrī will have reigned from A.D. 159 to 163-6 (14). For the same reason the time of the reign of Śrī Yajnā will have filled the last quarter of the II century of our era.

The Empire of the Āndhras fell to pieces during the first half of the III century of our era (15). We shall therefore not be far wrong if we connect the plastic art of Amarāvati with the names of the three Āndhra princes, Śrī Pulumavi, Śiva-Śrī-Śāta (karṇi) and Śrī Yajnā, and the more so as the stylistically early reliefs of the outer railing agree with those which were constructed at Mathurā after the year A.D. 118.

It is only the inscription with the name of Śrī Śivamaka-Śāta which is connected with figure representation. It is a part of the outer railing, but considering the fact that a Buddha or a Buddhist monk in the typical garment of the Order is found on it, it must be counted among the later works, executed shortly before the reliefs of the inner fence. In the older sculptures the artist was still shy of representing the Sublime One in human shape.

At Mathurā we are faced by the confusing fact that instead of the expected free and unconstrained plastic art we encounter an extremely linear, almost

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primitive, art. The image of King Kaniška, discovered in 1911 by the Pandit Rada Krishna, is an extraordinary piece of work. It is a free figure, without head and arms, and entirely set into the surface, frontal in the most rigorous sense of the word. The drapery is conceived and treated as a rigorously compact mass in which the folds are chiselled in a few flat lines. There is a great predilection for details, as manifested in the club and the sheath of the sword. Nor must we forget the barbarian art which puts the inscription on the front side of the figure instead of placing it upon the pedestal.

Plate 76

The upper part of the torso deserves special notice; the drapery is indicated only by means of hems, so that the chest appears to be naked. The torso is well modelled. A spark of the old sculptural power of Mathurā seems to be still glimmering, but it is almost crushed by the weight of a new, unaccustomed and therefore difficult task, viz. that of executing a portrait for the first time in Indian sculpture.

Is that about 12.00, 6
say nothing of
nothing at all?

For the Hindu artist who had received the commission of executing the statue of the Kuṣāṇā king this meant a break with tradition, and he was thus suddenly torn away from the beaten familiar track of religious sculpture where he had been accustomed to deal with familiar and established types. The unfamiliarity of the task does not, however, as yet convincingly explain the peculiar style, as a certain clumsiness, rather astonishing for this period, is still noticeable. It is not a question of only one individual case, as a number of other sculptures, all probably dating from the first years of the reign of Kaniška, exhibit a similar embarrassment. By degrees only the artistic gift makes itself free, and then it secures the first place in the art of Northern India.

The phenomenon can only be explained by the fact that the old school of Mathurā, to which we owe a couple of works from the early period, the "Āmohinī relief" of the year A.D. 14, and the jambs of Amin, had degenerated on account of political circumstances which arose towards the middle of the century. In India, too, art was silenced while warlike arms were being brandished.

gym

It is no mere coincidence when the new impetus appears at the very time of the reign of the greatest of the Kuṣāṇā kings. Under the firm rule of Kaniška, the North enjoyed peace, in spite of the fact that from time to time struggle and war blazed up on the borders. There was also the support which from the beginning art and religion had met with at the hands of this wise prince.

It was under his reign that the plastic art of the Gandhāra country, a district under his immediate sway, reached the summit of its development, although only on the quantitative side. It was the same at Mathurā, with the difference only that here artistic quality kept pace with the magnitude of the tasks.

It can be proved without any difficulty that at Mathurā sculpture was inaugurated with a group of secular images: the statue of the mighty king, fully corresponding to the rank of the personality represented, seems to have been the first.

As the next specimen we shall mention an enthroned ruler, still rather flat and calculated only for a frontal view, but the attitude is already freer and the joints begin to loosen themselves. This monumental statue is already conceived more plastically, and what is most remarkable are the drapery ends which, reposing to the right and to the left near the shanks, are endeavouring to free themselves from the trammels of a rigid pattern. Here we have to do with a statue of a Kuṣānā king, most probably with the effigy of V'ima Kadphises, which Kaniṣka had caused to be executed in memory of his father (16). This imposing statue of V'ima was succeeded by the statue of Chastana, very noble in conception and of incredible purity of contour (17).

Plates 77-78

Plate 78

The colossal free sculpture of a Bodhisattva, discovered at Sārnāth, inaugurates the line of Buddhist sculptures extending down to the Gupta period (18). It is a standing figure, very well preserved, the right arm alone being missing. The upper part of the torso is only half dressed, and the right shoulder is free. The light undergarment is held together by a girdle round the hips, while a scarf wound round the left shoulder, and drawn crossways round the body, thickens at the lower hem. The ends are thrown over the left lower arm.

Plate 79

It is a round sculpture, but calculated for frontal view; looked at from the side, this rigid image makes rather an ugly impression. The back is very summarily treated.

There is a small lion between the legs, intended to distinguish the figure portrayed as the Śākya-Simha, the lion of the Śākya race. It is thus not meant for any Bodhisattva, but for the historical Bodhisattva, i.e. Gautama of the time between his escape from the world and his becoming a Buddha (19).

The statue was set up in the third year of the reign of Kaniṣka (20) by the monk Bāla. We have thus gained an important point from which we are enabled to throw some light upon the obscure beginnings of the Mathurā school.

A comparison of the styles shows that the work is more mature than the statues of Kaniṣka and of the two Kuṣāṇā princes; the thick hems of the wrap are conceived more plastically, while the torso is more finely modelled. The draughtsman-like rendering of the folds is still to be noticed, but another art also emerges, intent upon illustrating the fine web of a delicate tissue by means of narrow parallel chamfers. It is just this rendering of the folds, particularly striking on the left arm, which enables us to follow up the various phases of development.

This art is consciously working with a view to an expressive contour. Although the masses still tenaciously adhere to each other, a desire for a distinct articulation of the parts becomes clearly manifest.

The Śravastī Bodhisattva (21) was also set up by Bala, while another Bodhisattva figure from Sārnāth, on account of the uncertain rendering of the lower garment, must be assigned to an earlier date. These lightly engraved lines will be superseded during the next decades by regular string-like ridges.

Plate 80

The next phase is represented by the Nāga of Chargaon, where the independence and peculiarity of the drapery already goes beyond the patterns and designs to which we were accustomed during the period of growth. It is worthy of notice how much more delicate the transitions become and how convincingly the soft flesh is rendered. The asymmetrical arrangement of the big projecting knot wound on the left thigh is a conscious attempt to render the structure obscure and unintelligible, the intention being thus to divert the eye from the rigid regularity of the human body.

Plate 97, left

It could be objected that on the Yakṣa from Sānchī too the drapery is tied up on the side, but the motif alone is not yet the decisive point. What is rather more important is the artistic use made of this peculiarity of the dress, in one case for the purpose of supporting the structural aspect and in the other in the contrary sense.

The Nāga statue is dated in the year 40 of the Kaniṣka era, A.D. 118. Previously the increasing differentiation had resulted in an extraordinarily fine execution of the torso. The softness of transition, the characterization of the firm flesh which distinguish the Buddha-Bodhisattva representations, have never been equalled.

Plates 81, 83

Those who bear in mind something of the composed and calm forms of

the golden age will recognize with amazement to what an extent the later period knows how to enliven its productions. The change from the stable and permanent to the transient and mobile will of course not come as a surprise, for it is in absolute agreement with the laws of optical development. Whereas in the North almost unsurmountable obstacles were placed in the way of this natural growth but were overcome in a comparatively short time, at Amarāvati, on the contrary, the path was free from the very start, and the elegant growth of Southern art could develop without any hindrance.

Here, too, the disparity between the aptitudes, tastes and conceptions of forms of North and South India can be established. The ideal of beauty has changed throughout, the forms have become larger and lighter, but in Mathurā, as measured by the swinging and graceful forms of Amarāvati, the bodies produce throughout a full and strong effect. There is no doubt that here the disparity of blood has much to account for.

It is self-evident that the altered ideal of the body conceals a fundamentally different extent of expression, for that calm strength which emanates from the couples of Kārlī we shall never encounter again during the later period. An easy serenity and cheerfulness flow through the figures, and everything is gay and animated not only in the gestures but even more so in the heart. Everything is illumined by a spirit of comfortable enjoyment.

The new disposition manifests itself already in the selection of motifs: drinking bouts and love scenes, and above all descriptions of intimate life, being quite frequent. Here we see a lady examining her complexion in front of her mirror or trying on a pair of ear-rings; and there we come across a couple who are carousing, handing each other the cup, or whiling away their time in dalliance and idle gossip. One of the most graceful reliefs from Mathurā reproduces a young beauty who has let her tame bird escape from its cage, the bird is perched upon its mistress's propped-up arm and is tugging at her headdress.

This tone of beautiful carelessness, characteristic of Mathurā, changes at Amarāvati into a nervously irritated disposition. All indolence has disappeared, a trembling, almost hysterical unrest having taken hold of man. The wildest transports of joy alternate with outbursts of violent passion. There is neither measure nor goal, everything being done with exuberance and extravagance.

Almost everywhere the sophisticated doings of a mundane court society are related, the coquettish conduct of frivolous ladies, the bored expression of blasé

young gentlemen being everywhere masterfully rendered. Old age is being ignored, as its aspect would dispel the joyous disposition. Thus we only see youths, narrow, slim and long-legged, of an exceedingly aristocratic build. Finally, every understanding for natural form is lost and the figures, in particular those of the women, exhibit a serpentine suppleness.

Plates 114-123

These men and women seem to ignore earnestness and dignity, everything being a play. A noble manner of taking things easy is good form, and the artist does his best to give his creations as nonchalant an air as possible. The lazy inactive lolling about in the easy chair is a subject which particularly attracts the artist.

Plate 117

✓ All this surpasses any worldly disposition that we would have found at Sānchī. The healthy joy in life is gone. No doubt one is still attached to this world with all the fibres of one's being, but the calm self-evidence of enjoyment is lost. A passionate sense for everything terrestrial manifests itself, as if Indian art had taken leave of this world with a tumultuous feast, before definitely entering the cold fields of spirituality.

After

✓ If the calm grandeur characterizing the golden age is missing in this art, the lack is fully compensated by the new capacity for psychological differentiation. It is only now that the understanding for the powerful emotions of the human heart manifests itself. The elementary weight of the latter is now being recognized, and the artist is able to illustrate and to depict passionate angry outbursts, ecstatic devotion, the mildness of man and motherly solicitude; but the inner emotions are reflected less in the head than in the entire image.

After

By the side of these representations the founders and patrons present strange enough figures. Monks and lay brothers, honest bourgeois and worthy matrons, have furnished the means for the glorification of an elegant and exuberant life. These inscriptions also remind us that it is with a religious art that we have to do, and that all these gay scenes are connected with some legend clustering round the life of the Buddha. It is, however, significant how religion is being used as a pretext for the purpose of singing a wildly enthusiastic, rapturous pæan in praise of terrestrial life.

After

The new spirituality requires new means of expression, and the old elements have retired, making room for young and fresh powers.

The clearly expressed contour, required by the preceding period in all

circumstances, softens down more and more, grows supple and gliding, is submerged in shade, plays in alternating curves above the forms, only lightly accentuates the joints, and is intent rather upon obliterating, effacing and smoothing down. Such is the style of the late period. The palpable form is no longer in favour, for everything is mobile and agitated, endeavouring to extricate itself from the groping hand stretched out after it.

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Plate 98

Soon the decisive discovery was made that it was not the silhouette that was important but that which lay within its boundaries. All life and expression have withdrawn into the interior where the variegated struggles between light and shade take place. Therein a new disposition is manifested. The clearly stamped, universally current form is no longer appreciated, the surprising, the transient and the exceptional being preferred.

This is the picturesque style. The full conviction can of course be obtained only from the contemplation of the original. Unfortunately, however, it is precisely the diffused light in the dim hall of a museum that kills that artistic effect upon which the Indian sculptor had calculated. The glaring tropical sun, to which all these sculptures had once been exposed, had cast heavy and full shadows which have but little relation with the present dull, grey and effaced obscurities. It is only when the sculptures are brought out into the bright daylight that the originally intended effect can be approximately gauged.

Plate 130

The reliefs of Amarāvati stand on the same level. One example will suffice, namely that of the women adoring a stūpa. Observe the figures of the kneeling women. There is a long contour, but it does not at all frame in the body. The silhouette is ridiculously displaced and quite meaningless. This outline is a conscious misleading of the eye, and the past period would never have consented to such a line which connects in one stroke the left elbow with the upper part of the right hip.

It will always be useful to divert the attention from the particular and turn our gaze to the general. We shall then soon become conscious of another disparity existing between the second period and the later epoch. Whereas the one manifests a preference for clear, distinct systems of lines, the other, on the contrary, tries to avoid this, showing a predilection for the blending and confusion of the elements.

All this also applies to ornamentation. Whereas at Sānchī it is clear and fixed

in itself, one form developing from the other in a regular somewhat slow rhythm, in Amarāvati we meet with an exuberant strength, with a wild petulant motion. Here the forms are softly merged one in the other, the parts overlap, are welded together, and all the trammels are dissolved. Like a roaring mountain torrent, wild and irresistible, the baroque ornament flows forth.

Plate 57

Plates 115, 124

The careful observer cannot fail to notice that early Indian baroque art was accustomed constantly to employ effects of extension of depth. The classical period had disposed the figures upon the surface, and although it knew the third dimension, it had never made use of it artistically. This has now been changed fundamentally, for care is henceforth taken to make manifest to the eye the depth extension, effecting this device by bending the figures forward, by a screw-like twisting of the torso, by a particularly effective oblique view, by intersection and foreshortening.

Plates 96-98

The mutual relation existing between things in space is once more taken into account. It is only now that one can speak of a downward view, while certain perspective observations are utilized artistically.

This period is no longer satisfied with a parallel echelon of the planes, and a universal reaching after depth-effect is felt. At Sānchī the eye wanders constantly from the left to the right, and is never tempted to penetrate the depth, whereas every effort is now being made to render possible combined front and back view. The wall-like enclosure has disappeared, and in any case the lower edge has lost that paramount importance which it possessed in the classic time in its quality of base line. The differentiation of the poses, which leaves open not only large but, what is more important, irregular spaces between single parts of the image, the alternation of erect and squatting elements, in a word, the manifold interlacings of the elements, counteract the scheme of arranging the figures in rows. It must also be added that the principal scene is now shifted to the background, so that for objective reasons the eye is compelled to wander to the depth.

Plates 115-119

The artist goes even further in order to produce the illusion of depth extension. Upon one tondo a young man, standing in the foreground in a coquettish attitude of aloofness, contemplates over his shoulder a young girl seated farther back and surrounded by her serving maids. The architectural accessories deserve notice; they are pushed away into the background, and the figures are rendered in a diminishing perspective.

Plate 116

Upon a fragment of the roof-beam the adoration of a throne, which is taking place in the open, is represented. The structure to the left is thrown back obliquely into the depth, while to the right a toraṇa, considerably foreshortened, appears; and behind it is the gate of a palace also in a slanting view. There is no need to waste words and give a description of the really ingenious mastery of depth in the representations of inner rooms.

Plate 125

Plate 126, bottom

At Mathurā the artists are much more reserved. Here, too, as in the South, the artist ventures to give an apparently perspective representation of the structure, but his conception, unlike that noticed in the earlier attempt of the "Holi-reliefs", tenaciously clings to the single body, content with abstract indications, where Amarāvati would have adopted an illustrative representation.

Plate 91

In this connection we could point out a peculiarity of early Indian plastic art, viz. the notorious disproportion existing between man and his surroundings. It is the architectural accessories in particular which are always rendered improbably small. This trait, as many others, reminds us of the narrative reliefs of the Trajan and the Marcus columns; and here, too, we shall have to assume that no heed had been taken of reality. The men are the main point, and it is their actions and doings which are to be perceived above all; whereas the landscape and the architectural surroundings come in the second place and the eye is expected to dwell on them only as upon something accompanying the tenor of human actions.

The intimate relations existing between the composition and the frame is now also solved. It is significant that the fashion of accentuating the border fillets by means of particular ornaments, as was customary at Sāñchī in the classical period, has now been given up. The old cross-division of the surface of the jamb is of course still to be noticed, especially at Mathurā, which tenaciously clings to the traditional, but even here we do not obtain the impression of rigorous compactness. The borders are not decorated, and the architectural motifs, large and heavy, produce the effect of pictorial elements rather than of frames.

Plates 94-95

In its full force the innovation becomes evident only upon the jambs of Amarāvati. Although the rectangular partition has not been entirely abandoned, here, as at Bārhūt, the tondo is treated with particular predilection. This is done after mature deliberation, because it limits to a minimum the possibility of the composition conspiring with the borders.

The later period no longer cares for anything that is fastly joined, its conception of the body having changed. As far as it was possible for India, a figure is now considered to be a higher unit, the functional being still clearly emphasized. The single parts, however, are so closely joined together that the motion of the whole body is affected.

Very characteristic are in this respect the Yakṣa of Mathurā. It is already important that in contradistinction to the Yakṣas of Sāñchī, they are not arranged laterally and are not stretched into a square frame. On the other hand, there no longer exists any pervading and uninterrupted figure axis, the figure standing there in a baroque twisted or spiral attitude. The contrast between the frequently winding body and the rigid vertical architecture is consciously effected. While previously the distance between the figure and the edge had remained pretty much the same, it now varies continually and it is precisely at this asymmetry that the later period is aiming. Here, too, the figure has naturally been created for the jamb, but what is new is the manner in which both figure and jamb preserve the appearance of complete freedom and independence, whereas the classic period could not emphasize enough their mutual connection and dependence. It is only upon this basis that the baroque conception of the essence of motion became possible, seeming to come from inside as if from some invisible centre of strength and, pulsing through the entire image, bending it to a wild and comprehensive swing.

Plates 96 left, 98

On the narrative reliefs of Amarāvati the negation of the structural element is carried out to such a degree that one might speak of anarchy. The entwining and interlacing of the figures mock at all attempts at discriminating clarification and arrangement. No greater contrast to the rigid parade display on some reliefs at Sāñchī can be imagined than the new condition where the whole structure is in a state of fluctuation, and the figures are whirling pell-mell.

Plate 118

At Amarāvati the explanation of the pictorial contents encounters greater difficulties than it does at Sāñchī, this being not altogether unconnected with a striving after confusion and an attempt to conceal, as unobtrusively as possible, the story behind an everyday episode from court life. Once we are acquainted with this manner of narration, then some reliefs, hitherto mute, begin to speak. Comparatively simple is the explanation of a scene on the middle of a post of the outer railing of which Burgess gives the following description (22): "A man is seated beneath a tree, and a peacock is spreading its tail in front of him;

to his left, on a low cushion, his wife is seated, and beside the peacock there are also two persons who are perhaps paying their respects to the bird." The man too, beneath the tree, is holding up his hands in a gesture of veneration.

The Mora Jātaka is evidently depicted here, the contents of which are briefly as follows (23): At the time when Brahmadata was King of Benares, the Bodhisattva was born in the Himalaya in the shape of a peacock. He knew many spells and thus managed to escape the pursuits of men. He was ultimately captured with the aid of a female peacock, passion having made him neglect his accustomed prudence. He is brought as a captive into the presence of the King. The latter is greatly charmed and fascinated by the beauty and wisdom of the bird, and the questions and answers lead to a long conversation between the pair.

The story is very shortly related on the relief, the scene, unlike the majority of representations at Amarāvati, not being embellished with one of those rich descriptions of court life veiling the real tenor of the legend. Now the simplicity of the scenery and a certain heaviness of the figures clearly show that this work was executed before the violently agitated images where the centre of gravity of the narrative almost never coincides with the centre of gravity of the representation.

Such is the case of an exceedingly animated and attractive representation of an everyday episode in the life of an Indian prince. A Rāja is conversing with an old Ṛṣi, by whose side a young ascetic is seated (24). And yet, I feel inclined to recognize in this scene an incident from the existence of the Sublime One. It is the aged Asita who has come to Kapilavastu, accompanied by his disciple Naradatta, to gaze at the newly born Gautama. The ascetic and Śuddhodana, the royal father, are discussing with great ardour the question whether the newly-born would be a Buddha or a Chakravartin (25).

Similar is also the case of another scene upon the big roof-beam. Here the large picture gives the impression of a description of the life and doings at the court of an Indian prince. There is music and dancing, a conference of the princes and their departure for the hunt, for a war-expedition or some other enterprise. And yet, a definite legend is represented here, viz. the distribution of the relics (26). To the left one sees the departure of the seven princes seated upon their elephants with their reliquaries; while to the right, in the palace, the distribution of the relics takes place. One sees the vessels of the kings

and those of the Brahman Drona, wherein the precious relics are to be placed.

Plate 123

Here we have an event of such extraordinary importance for the Buddhist, that one expects it to be accompanied by a great display of solemnity and dignity, turned into a genre-picture: whereas the supreme event, the distribution, is enacted in the background, the attention being attracted by the dance and by the play. The march of the elephants too is rendered in such a manner that their sacred load cannot be conjectured, so swiftly and gaily are they trotting.

The essential similarity between the styles of Mathurā and Amarāvati prove that it is not a question of a locally-fixed scheme of expression. No doubt, the disparity of race existing between North and South manifests itself in the image, but this is no contradiction. On the banks of the Jumnā and of the Kistnā a local peculiarity is retained, but only within the limits of the general style prevalent throughout the period.

Both Amarāvati and Mathurā were artistic centres whose rich material is comparatively easy of access, and the time of which has been fixed with approximate certainty by the inscriptions. If we carefully and circumspectly proceed from this point, we shall be able, in the light of a critical comparison of styles, to fix the dates of a number of scattered sculptures.

Thus we have several posts of Stūpa II at Sānchī whose style brings them into the immediate proximity of the large fence of Amarāvati (27). The wildly agitated ornamentation, the slim figures, distinguished from the somewhat plump stumpy ones of the great stūpa, the unconstrained conduct of these men, the successful use made of contrast, a certain breadth in the composition, suggesting a beautiful freedom: all this inevitably reminds us of Amarāvati. One may therefore safely assume that the time of origin of the two jambs lies in the first half of the second century.

In the third panel of one of these jambs there is a scene where an elephant is standing in the water and a storm is bending the trees. A mahout is helping a lady to mount the beast, while another is handing something to a person in the water. It seems to me that here we have a representation of the charming story of a prince who is abducting his mistress from a refractory parent (28).

The rapid and violent motion of all pictorial elements is characteristic of

Plate 138 the frieze of the upper storey of the Rānī Gumpha of Udayagiri. There nothing is in repose, but everything is in a state of tumult. The figures are narrow, slim and delicate: one has only to compare them with those upon the lower storey with their coarse heaviness, evidently related to the race of men at Sānchī. A minute analysis, suggested by Marshall and correctly carried out in his description (29), shows that these sculptures are much more advanced and therefore of a more recent date than those of the lower storey.

The transition from the old to the new is also evident in a panel in the lower storey, where several girls are playing music and dancing in wild motion. Their figures are considerably slimmer than the others; and their garments, too, differ from the dress of the other figures. If the movements do not yet exhibit that degree of nervous grace seen on the reliefs of the upper panel,

Plate 137 it is anyhow superior to the angular *grandezza* of Sānchī.

Altogether, the work in the upper panel shows considerable differences in quality. By the side of a genial master who knows how to make his figures move with charming grace, there works also an incapable provincial disciple,

Plate 139 unable to copy even the simplest things.

In conclusion we must mention several jambs of the Abhayagiri Dagob near Anurādhapura in Ceylon. The mode and manner in which the figures of several Nāgas, Nāgīs and Yakṣinis are represented point to a date about the beginning of the II century. A partial attachment to the older style, such as the retention of the strong framework, must be attributed to the remote locality of the island.

Plate 132

NOTES

1] Thus in the time of Huiṣka (according to the inscription A.D. 111-138) the Jainist Vodva stūpa was already very ancient, as its erection was attributed to the gods; cf. J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, A.S.R. 1906-7, p. 141.

2] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Sārnāth*, A.S.R. 1904-5, pp. 78 f.

3] TH. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 180; J.A.S.B. 67, Part I, 1898, p. 274.

- 4] FOUCHER, A.G.B., Vol. II, p. 681, Fig. 556. Now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.
- 5] According to information obtained by Marshall, the stone is supposed to have come from the quarries of Paharpur, thirty or forty miles distant from Agra and Mathurā (cf. A.S.R., 1904-5, p. 78). Less frequent are a speckled red and a bright yellow sandstone. With regard to the existence of plastic works from Mathurā, Cunningham says: "Everywhere in the North-West, I find that the old Buddhist statues are made of the Sikri sandstone, from which it would appear that Mathurā must have been the great manufactory for the supply of Buddhist sculptures in Northern India" (A.S., Vol. XI, p. 75).
- 6] A list of works dated from inscriptions is found in J. PH. VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, Appendix A. There are found there not less than sixteen such sculptures from this period, not counting the dated specimens in other museums. As the majority of sculptures hailing from Mathurā are dated in the era of Kaniṣka, I have, in an essay published in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F. III, pp. 22 f., endeavoured to give the reasons which have induced me to place the beginning of the Kaniṣka era in the year 78 A.D.
- 7] Fergusson and Burgess did not question the trustworthiness of the works; cf. JAMES BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, London, 1887, p. 21.
- 8] JAMES BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, p. 12.
- 9] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 61, 100; cf. E. HULTZSCH, *Amarāvati Inschriften*, Z.D.M.G., 37, p. 549.
- 10] JAMES BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, p. 4.
- 11] E. J. RAPSON, *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Āndhras)*, London, 1908, pp. lxvi. f.
- 12] JAMES BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, p. 61, Pl. 56/3.
- 13] E. J. RAPSON, *Catalogue*, pp. xl, liii.
- 14] *Ibid.*, p. xli.
- 15] *Ibid.*, p. xliv. VINCENT A. SMITH, *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1904 (1st ed.), p. 191.
- 16] For the reading of the inscription, cf. J.B.O.K.S., VI (1920), pp. 51 ff.
- 17] *Ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

- 18] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Sārnāth*, A.S.R., 1904-5, pp. 78-80.
- 19] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 20] J. PH. VOGEL, Ep. Ind. VIII., p. 173.
- 21] TH. BLOCH, Ep. Ind. VIII., p. 180; J.A.S.B., Vol. 67, Part I (1898), p. 274.
- 22] BURGESS, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, p. 32.
- 23] Jāṭaka No. 159.
- 24] J. FERGUSSON, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1872, P. 61-2.
- 25] S. BEAL, *The Romantic History of Buddha*, London, 1875, pp. 56 ff.
- 26] The legend in R. SPENCE HARDY's *A Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1853, pp. 530 ff. Greatly abridged in JOHN MARSHALL's *Guide to Sānchī*, p. 151.
- 27] A.S.R., 1913-14, Pl. 18c.
- 28] Jāṭaka No. 262. The Mudupāṇi Jāṭaka story is perhaps illustrated upon the Southern gate at Sānchī, at the left end of the middle architrave (cf. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sānchī*, p. 47).
- 29] JOHN MARSHALL, C.H.J., p. 641.

III

THE SCULPTURE OF GANDHĀRA

THE trend of early Indian plastic art from Bārḥūt to Amarāvati must be considered as a naturally consistent growth, as an organic development carrying its goal in itself. If we are going to deal in the following pages with a fundamentally different art it is, above all, because the soil upon which it developed geographically belongs to India. We are referring to the sculpture of the Gandhāra country, which embraces the Indian North-Western provinces and a portion of Afghanistan.

Closely situated to the gates of India, to Western and Central Asia, this district was the first prey of the conqueror who had traversed the Hindu-Kush. The Persians had settled there, and Alexander the Great had advanced as far as that region. It had belonged to the Maurya Empire and at the beginning of the II century B.C. was conquered by Greek princes coming from Bactria (1). In 135 B.C. the Śaka (Scythians) conquered Bactria, and King Heliocles was compelled to seek refuge in his Indian domains (2). The Śaka were again displaced by the Yueh-Chi, who about 174 B.C. had advanced westwards from Kansu (3).

In the meantime the Parthians had also gained power and authority and under Mithridates II, the Great (123-88), drove back the Śaka as far as India (4). Between 75 B.C. and A.D. 50 the country was under the sway of the Śaka and of the Pahlava (Parthians), but several princes of Greek origin, such as Hermaeus and Strato, were able to resist the barbarians' onslaught up to the third quarter of the last century B.C. (5).

In the meantime the power of the Yueh-Chi had grown considerably; they called themselves after the mightiest tribe Kuṣānā, and about A.D. 50, advancing from Bactria under Kujula Kadphises, penetrated as far as the Upper Kabul valley and Arachosia; about 64 they conquered Western Gandhāra and the adjoining Northern India (6).

Towards the beginning of the III century their Empire falls to pieces, but it is rather remarkable that the so-called "Little Kuṣāna" were able to maintain themselves in the North-West, particularly in the Kabul valley, and to be in constant contact with the Persian Empire of the Sassanians. At the beginning of the IV century a Kuṣānā prince gave his daughter in marriage to the Persian

King Ormuzd II, and at the siege of Amida in 360 an Indian contingent fought in the ranks of Sapor II against the Romans (7). In 465 the last Kuṣānā fell a prey to the invasion of "White Huns" (8).

These facts are rather important, because they tend to prove that from the very beginning Gandhāra had occupied a particular position. If we bear in mind the fact that Aśoka himself respected the peculiarity of the country when he caused the edicts of Shahbaz Garhi and Mansehra to be written in Karoṣṭi, which had been introduced under the Achæmenians, this is further evidence that the district in question had always had leanings towards the West rather than the South-East, and that its peculiarity was respected. Even to-day, by its customs and mode of life, the population belongs to Afghanistan and the Oxus district rather than to the Indian Empire.

On account of its geographical position, the country was mercilessly exposed to every foreign influence. Among the nations who had invaded Gandhāra only the Persians and the Greeks possessed an art of their own. The country, notwithstanding the fact that nothing Persian has been discovered there, must have played an important rôle in the introduction of Persian intellectual goods under Chandragupta and Aśoka. Incomparably much more lasting was the influence which Hellenism had exercised upon the artistic taste of these districts.

The Greek conquerors brought with them into the country a highly developed art, and the excavations undertaken by Sir John Marshall at Taxila have abundantly proved that from a pure and genuine Hellenism something new had developed in the North-West. It may bear decisive characteristic traits attesting its Western origin; but on the whole it must be claimed as an independent further development of this latter art.

To all appearance it was the art of the ruling class which existed for a long time side by side with the simple decorative arts of the subdued people. In all likelihood the indigenous inhabitants had nothing of importance to oppose to Hellenism, and up till now no "Indian" artistic production has been discovered which had been executed in the North-West prior to the Gandhāra sculptures and related in some way to the works of Bārhūt, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī (9).

But Gandhāra was to be the scene of one of those thrilling dramas so frequent upon the stage of Asiatic art, namely the utilization by a primitive nation of the vast treasure of forms of a mature but foreign art for the purpose of expressing and illustrating their own particular ideas. In this case it was a pro-

vincial, very degenerate Hellenism which the Central Asiatic invaders had furnished for the service of Buddhism.

The importance of the North-West Indian art is to be sought in the revolutionary act with which it made its entry into history: it consisted in representing for the first time the Buddha in human shape.

We have already referred to the shyness which the Indian sculptors experienced when it was a question of representing the Sublime One in human shape. The unwritten law concerning the pictorial representation extended only to Buddha's final life, because on the reliefs which show his previous existences, the Bodhisattva is represented without any restraint as either man or animal.

The execution of the first Buddha figure, by a Gandhāra sculptor, was rank heresy; but it must be remembered that there was scarcely any soil more auspicious for heresy. The constant contact with foreign nations necessarily resulted in foreign ideas being admitted. They were examined and compared, and this meant death to rigorous belief.

To-day it is almost impossible to enumerate all the driving forces responsible for the execution of the first Buddha statue. It must be remembered that not Indians but Iranians from Central Asia were the bearers of art; they had made themselves acquainted with free Western ideas in Bactria before they came across Indian orthodoxy.

It must be assumed that from the beginning the Buddhist art of Gandhāra had produced the image of the Buddha.

Sometimes in the North-West, too, the wheel, the trident, and all their combinations were substituted for the Buddha (10); but it is quite evident that such was not the rule—only the exception. What is more significant is the fact that the style of such representations bears evidence of a comparatively late time of origin.

NOTES

- 1] GEORGE MACDONALD, C.H.I., pp. 444 ff.
- 2] *Ibid.*, p. 461.
- 3] GEORGE MACDONALD, C.H.I., p. 459. OTTO FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Abhandlungen der Kgl. preuss. Akademie, Berlin, 1904.
- 4] E. J. RAPSON, C.H.I., pp. 566 f.
- 5] *Ibid.*, pp. 553 ff., pp. 560 ff.
- 6] *Ibid.*, pp. 583 ff.
- 7] VINCENT A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, p. 29.
- 8] *Ibid.*, p. 328.
- 9] The occurrence of the figure of Lakṣmi in the form usual at Sānchī on a few silver coins of Azilises (cf. R. S. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford, 1914, Vol. 1, No. 332-3) is not yet a proof attesting the existence of such a plastic art in Gandhāra, not influenced by the West.
- 10] Cf. A. FOUCHER, A.G.B., 1, pp. 427, Figs. 216-19. Both the "trinity" (the Buddha, the Law, and the Community), and the first sermon preached at Benares, are illustrated by these symbols.

THE BEGINNINGS

CONSIDERING the evident influence which the art of North-West India exercised through the creation of a Buddha effigy, one might have expected the problem of its beginnings to have been a pressing one. If in ordinary cases the uncertainty with regard to the origin of a new direction or of a new style within a larger, uniform development is already a cause of embarrassment, the situation becomes utterly untenable when it is a question of a definite entity, appearing with such force and producing such a lasting effect as did the sculpture of North-Western India.

The question has naturally occupied all those who have studied and written about this art, but with a strange lack of historical *flair*, they have all dismissed it with a rather short discussion, turning to the more grateful task of iconographical investigations and researches. They did not seem to be aware that they had no firm ground under their feet but were suspended in mid air. The door was subsequently left open for hypothesis to enter freely, the result being a number of false ideas as to what is really important and valuable and as to the influences exchanged both from without and from within.

There are, however, a few exceptions. After a study extending over several years, Foucher has arrived at the conclusion that the beginnings of North-West Indian art will have to be dated towards the end of the second or the beginning of the I century B.C. (1). F. W. Thomas fixes the date in the time of Menander, i.e. the first half of the II century B.C. (2), while Col. Waddell emphatically declared that there was no evidence at all that a Gandhāra art had existed prior to Kaniṣka (3).

The tormenting uncertainty therefore still remains, as to the time of origin of this most important and significant movement.

An attempt will be made in succeeding pages to put an end to this feeling of uncertainty, the task, however, being expressly limited to the Buddhistic art of North-Western India. We shall thus have to draw a clear distinction between the latter and the provincial Hellenism of the Greek conquerors, for it is quite evident that Hellenism came over with the princes of the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides.

It seems to me that the complicated problem can be solved with the aid of the coins found in the Buddhistic monasteries and places of devotion of North-

West India. The custom of burying a few coins as votive offerings was evidently very common. There were besides some coins which must have got lost either during the work or otherwise. All this evidence will be utilized and examined on the basis of its documentary value.

One must of course proceed very carefully, as James Fergusson had already recommended when he said that a stūpa is not older than the coins buried within it: but, on the contrary, may be younger by one or two centuries (4). This precaution has never been lost sight of during the methodical and careful excavations of the Archaeological Survey undertaken in the course of the last two decades. Judging by the places where the coins were found and other particular circumstances, we shall have to determine whether we are in the presence of a votive offering or of later additions. And as we have to do here with the beginnings of an art almost exclusively placed in the service of Buddhism, we shall have to pay particular attention to the earliest coins discovered in Buddhistic structures.

Let, however, the facts speak for themselves.

At Taxila, in the neighbourhood of the village Mohrā, Cunningham discovered a Buddhist temple and in its interior, beneath the basement wall of the terrace for the statues, twelve coins of Azes I. He picked them up himself, and from the position in which the coins were found it can be concluded with certainty that they had been purposely deposited in this place during the construction of the temple (5).

A few of the coins belong to the latter time of the reign of Azes, who is generally considered to be the founder of the Vikrama era (6) (58 B.C.).

In the course of excavations undertaken at Bāla Hiṣār, Marshall again discovered a number of coins, the earliest of which exhibited the inscription of Soter Megas (7); at Mir Zīgurat he moreover found a coin of Menander with a terra-cotta fragment, and in the neighbourhood he discovered numerous coins of Azes, Hermaeus, Basileus Megas, V'ima Kadphises, and Kaniṣka (8). At Ghaz Dherī a reliquary, together with a coin of Zeionises, were discovered (9).

D. B. Spooner, who has investigated the ruins of Sahri-Bahlol, brought to light sixty-seven copper coins, out of which sixty-three were illegible, two belonged to the Kuṣānā kings, and one bore the inscription of Soter Megas (10). When Stein made excavations in the same locality he discovered near rampart

C, besides coins of Vasudeva and of later Indo-Scythian rulers, one coin of Azes which looked quite new (11). Just beneath the ground in the middle vihara the latter scholar also discovered another coin of the same prince (12). The other coins which Stein discovered are immaterial for the present investigation.

The discoveries of Marshall at Taxila have become of paramount importance for all questions concerning North-West Indian art. The problem would have remained inextricably confused, had not Marshall from the very beginning shown so much circumspection and taken notice of everything calculated to contribute towards an elucidation of the dates. Thus, reckoning with all the factors, Marshall succeeded in establishing a continuous successive line of types of masonry from the I century B.C. to the III and IV centuries A.D. As he has also investigated the architectural peculiarities, he was able to assign with some certainty a date to his discoveries (13).

As the oldest specimens of Buddhist architecture at Taxila may be considered the inner structure of the Dharmarājika stūpa and a number of smaller stūpas surrounding the big structure, Marshall assigns them to the period of the Śaka, i.e. about the middle of the I century B.C. (14).

If we now mention a few coins discovered at Taxila, this is done for the following reason: their presence in this locality sheds a new light upon their existence in other places and thus considerably enhances the documentary value of other finds.

Thus in the centre of the basement of the stūpa of Block G at Sirkap, which, together with Block F, belongs almost entirely to the Śaka period (15), a steatite box containing eight coins of Azes I was discovered in a small relic chamber (16).

In the interior of stūpa R 4 at the foot of the staircase of the Dharmarājika stūpa, at a depth of nine feet from the top, was found a reliquary made of steatite by the side of a coin of Azes I (17).

In stūpa U 1 a reliquary made of Gandhāra stone was found containing among other objects four coins, viz. of Maues, Apollodotus, Spalahores, and one the date of which could not be determined (18).

In the chamber of relics of stūpa S 8 four coins of Maues and Azes I were discovered (19).

These finds do not all possess the same value as historical evidence.

In the front rank must of course be placed the finds which brought to light coins belonging to one ruler. Such are the discoveries made by Cunningham at Mohrā Maliar, where twelve coins of Azes I were found by Marshall in the stūpa of block G, at Sirkap, where the reliquary contained eight specimens of coins of the same ruler, and in the stūpa R 4, where by the side of a box of relics a coin of this prince was discovered.

This is not all, however. In the thirties of the last century, Charles Masson discovered in stūpa II at Bīmarān (near Jalalabad in the Kabul valley, Afghanistan) a steatite box containing the gold reliquary, which had in the meantime become famous, and by its side were four coins of Azes I (20).

In the second rank come the finds where various coins were discovered in one box or in one chamber of relics. It is obvious that in such cases we can only make use of the most recent specimens as a basis for the purpose of fixing the date. To these finds belong the reliquary of stūpa U 1 at Taxila, where the most recent coin is that of Spalahores (21), and the chamber of relics of stūpa S 8, where the coin of Azes I is the latest specimen.

When a coin has been discovered just at the height of the old soil, this fact furnishes a certain indication with regard to the age of the structure. To such finds belong that of Stein at Sahri-Bahlol, where it is a question of a coin of Azes I.

More complicated is the problem when we have to deal with coins made by various rulers and scattered freely. In such cases the oldest specimen could bear witness to the date since when the locality had been inhabited, although it is possible that we have to do with a coin which had already been in circulation for a long time previously. In this case we shall have to determine from the clear and unmistakable finds how far we might go back in time and yet remain within the limits of the period which can be safely connected with Buddhist art.

That is the reason why in the find of Mir Zigurat the Menander coin cannot be taken into account. Besides, the terra-cotta fragment which surely belongs to it has nothing whatever to do with Gandhāra art.

In conclusion, we shall have to consider the fact that an interval of more than a century had elapsed between Menander and the next ruler, represented by one coin, who is followed by the other rulers without any interruption of time, an interval which has not left the slightest trace (22). The oldest ruler, however,

of this continuous chronology is again Azes I. Zeionises (find of Ghaz Dheri) and Soter Meges (find of Bāla Hiṣār) belong already to the I century.

Thus if we are anxious to discover the ruler who can be connected with the oldest remains of Buddhist art in the North-West of India, we continually come across the name of Azes I. This gives us in round figures the middle of the last century B.C. as the beginning of Buddhist architecture in Gandhāra.

The inference
unfortunately is
wrong

NOTES

- 1] FOUCHER, A.G.B., II, p. 445.
- 2] J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 632.
- 3] *Ibid.*, p. 946. A year later Waddell fixes with Kaniṣka the beginning of the Gandhāra art – he holds fast to this connection – in the I century B.C. J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 40.
- 4] JAMES FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., London, 1910, p. 89, note 4.
- 5] A.S.R. (CUNNINGHAM), Vol. v, p. 72. Although in the earlier finds of coins the indications with regard to further particulars are not always exact, and one is therefore compelled to rely in essentials upon the more recent excavations, in this case the matter is quite clear and has therefore been taken into consideration.
- 6] The time of the reign of Azes I cannot be exactly determined, but it will probably belong approximately to the third quarter of the I century B.C. Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, who reigned first jointly with Azes, then alone, then jointly with Azes II. Azes II was the immediate predecessor of Gondopharnes, who ascended the throne presumably about 19 A.D.; cf. E. R. RAPSON, C.H.I., pp. 571, f. 577.
- 7] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Charsada*, A.S.R., 1902-3, p. 152.
- 8] *Ibid.*, p. 158-9.
- 9] *Ibid.*, p. 175. The Satrap Zeionises was apparently the predecessor of Kujula Kara Kadphises in the kingdom of Puṣkalāvātī. As Kujula Kadphises is a contemporary of Kadphises I, we may assume the date

- to be the first half of the I century A.D., cf. A.S.R., 1914-15, pp. 33 f. Notice should be taken of the localities where the finds were made.
- 10] D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol*, A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 50. The coins inscribed with the name of Soter Megas were struck, in my opinion, by V'ima at the beginning of his reign; cf. Bachhofer, *Die Aera Kanishkas*. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* N.F., iv, pp. 30 ff.
 - 11] M. A. STEIN, *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol*, A.S.R., 1911-12, p. 101.
 - 12] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
 - 13] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila*, A.S.R., 1912-13, p. 12 f.; *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 45, Pl. 5.
 - 14] A.S.R., 1912-13, p. 11; A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 5.
 - 15] A.S.R., 1912-13, p. 29.
 - 16] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
 - 17] A.S.R., 1914-15, p. 5.
 - 18] A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 2.
 - 19] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 - 20] H. H. WILSON, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, p. 71. Wilson gives a drawing of the discovered type (Pl. VIII, 1). It is the well-known type: riding king with whip, with standing Demeter, copper, round (cf. R. S. WHITEHEAD: *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford, 1914, Vol. 1, Indo-Greek coins, p. 122, No. 231, Pl. XII, 231).
 - 21] Spalahores was the brother of Vonones, and reigned in Arachosia as the latter's viceroy. As a probable date of Vonones Rapson suggests 30 B.C.; cf. E. J. RAPSON, C.H.I., pp. 573 f., Pl. 702.
 - 22] Menander, of the house of Euthydemus, was a contemporary of Eucratides, as is attested by the coins. Eucratides was slain by his son about 155 B.C., cf. E. J. RAPSON, C.H.I., pp. 548, 551, 554. For a drawing of the terra-cotta fragment, see A.S.R., 1902-3, p. 158.

THE DEVELOPMENT

IF we have hitherto spoken of Buddhist architecture this must not be construed to mean that there is a contrast between Buddhist architecture and that of other beliefs. The reason is rather that Buddhist architecture is indissolubly connected with Buddhist plastic art. Considering the fact that, with few unimportant exceptions, the sculptures of North-West India are Buddhist, we obtain a time period in which the Gandhāra school began to work. The Bīmarān reliquary will have to be considered as the first production.

Plate 140

In order to be able to arrange chronologically the numerous works of the Gandhāra school, it will be necessary to look for further landmarks and thence, proceeding on the basis of a criticism of style, divide the mass. For the hitherto current notions and ideas, viz. genuine Hellenistic tradition, pronounced decadence, and bad execution, will help us but little, as long as everything is in a state of fluctuation and precise indications are lacking.

The earliest specimen we have is, as has been pointed out, the Bīmarān reliquary. The circumstances in which it was discovered admit of no doubt that it belongs to the time of Azes I. The assertion made by Waddell, that previously to Kaniṣka there had been no Buddhist art, is thus refuted (1).

The next specimen to which a date can be assigned with some certainty will be the reliquary of Kaniṣka from Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī. For reasons which I will explain later on, I am inclined to assign to it the date of A.D. 90 (2).

Plate 148

Important are also the sculptures in the building L at Taxila which, judging by the masonry, belong to the II century A.D. The reliefs found there are, as Marshall maintains, undoubtedly contemporary (3). On stūpa R (4) on the Dharmarājika stūpa, several stucco reliefs have been preserved which, together with the wall to which they belong, date from the latter half of the II century (4).

Plate 152

Plate 154 right

In all these cases an analysis of the representation of the drapery is particularly instructive. From the Indian homeland, where a more or less pronounced chamfering of the drapery was considered sufficient, the North-West is distinguished by the large plastic themes of its drapery. Here, too, the manner of representation is subject to considerable fluctuations.

The interval in time between the Bīmarān and the Kaniṣka reliquaries is considerable, and we shall therefore have to leave out for the moment the

former, after having merely established the fact that the representation of the drapery is unaffected, free, mobile and agitated. One must, however, keep this starting-point in view, as we shall now attempt to understand the characteristic traits of the style that prevailed in the II century.

On the Kaniṣka reliquary there is a free plastic group of three figures: Buddha upon the elevated lotus throne in the middle, Indra and Brahma turning their faces towards him, to the left and to the right. The statuettes, like the relief on the vessel, are forcefully executed, free and loose in their movements. The draperies of the Sublime One and of his companions are enlivened by parallel fold-lines and preserve a certain independence.

It requires of course an eye sensitive for form to be able to distinguish correctly between what is common property of the period and individual peculiarity of the artist. Thus the rough plastic handle of the Kaniṣka reliquary is proper to all the works of the period of this prince. Barring this, the work is, both in plan and in execution, of superior quality, and it must indeed be assumed that such an important commission would have been entrusted to the foremost artist of the time and not to the first that came along (5).

We must of course measure these works only by contemporary standards. Thus in comparison to the reliquary, the stucco reliefs on the outside of the stūpa of Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī, although on the same level as far as style is concerned, are nothing but the rough, mechanical work of an artisan (6).

Plate 150 The somewhat rough and rustic strength manifested in the short and stumpy figures of the reliquary I find again in a Harītī statue from Skarah-Dherī. Here we are at once concerned with the work of a native artist, and if, particularly in the rendering of the eyes, it reminds us of Mathurā, that only means that the typically Indian character is strongly pronounced. The possibility of the work having been executed by a sculptor from Mathurā is not excluded. Anyhow, this mode of representing the eyes is significant for the Mathurā plastic art under Kaniṣka and Huviṣka; and, as it does not appear again later on, this circumstance also indicates a date under Kaniṣka. The drapery closely clinging to the body, these small folds running parallel, never daring to intersect each other, all this is extraordinarily characteristic of the contemporary style prevalent in the North-West.

The change of direction in the drapery is due to a misunderstood imitation of the female dress, as may be seen upon contemporary reliefs, where the drapery

hangs loosely down on the left side and is drawn tightly round the right thigh. This sculpture which exhibits all the traits of style of the time of Kaniška, only in an excessively crude manner, is dated in the year 399 of an era not more particularly determined (7).

It is evident that as starting-point we shall have to choose a date which, together with the latter year, will make it possible to fix it during the reign of Kaniška. Either the Maurya era (321 B.C.), therefore, or the era of the Seleucidæ (312 B.C.) can be taken into consideration. Now in the III century this district really belonged to the Maurya Empire, but from the beginning of the II century to 75 B.C. it was under the Greek sway, which maintained itself in several localities for another half-century. On the other hand, the Śakas and Kuṣānās considered themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Greeks whose culture they had eagerly appropriated. It therefore follows that we shall have to decide for the era of the Seleucidæ. The date of the Haritī statue would then be the year 87 A.D.

It is the crude workmanship in particular which argues early execution. We have already pointed out that stylistically this specimen coincides with the works executed at Mathurā during the early Kuṣānā period and with the Kaniška reliquary which is much superior in quality.

Hand in hand with the above-described specimens go the reliefs of structure L at Taxila. The stucco works of stūpa R 4 constitute the culmination which might have been expected. Slowly all the driving forces have died out, and in these shadowy patterns there is nothing to be felt of the rugged strength which distinguishes the images from the beginning of the II century A.D.

To sum up: we know the Bīmarān reliquary from the latter half of the I century B.C.; then, with a certain amount of certainty, we know the style prevailing about the end of the I and during the II century A.D. We also know the direction taken and the path along which art proceeded during that time. It is a path of a progressive schematization and an increasing neglect of natural forms.

The discoveries made by Marshall enable us also to point out a few characteristic traits of the style prevalent in the III and IV centuries. With the help of various masonry types lying one above the other, this careful scholar succeeded in establishing the dates of the structures in round figures. If we now keep to the stucco and clay reliefs adhering to these walls, which might have been

Plate 152

executed later but not earlier, then we can obtain a basis for a knowledge, though somewhat defective and summary, of the style prevalent during the later period of North-West Indian plastic art.

Plate 154 On account of its masonry the great stūpa near the cloister Mohṛā Morādu belongs no doubt to the III and IV centuries (8). The stucco reliefs adhering to it could not of course have been executed earlier. Marshall himself believes that they were created several decades before those of the cloister Jauliāñ, which he is inclined to date in the year 400 (9). What is in any case sure is the fact that the plastic art of the stūpa Mohṛā Morādu is older than that of the cloister Jauliāñ.

Plate 155 In the cloister Mohṛā Morādu things are not so simple, because the original walls were constructed after a later pattern derived from the large diaper style, and must therefore have been erected during the latter half of the II century. This agrees also with the circumstance that many coins of the Kuṣānā kings Huviṣka and Vasudeva were found upon the floor of the cloister (10). In order to be able to fit in correctly the sculptures discovered in this locality, we shall have to call in to our aid other works whose dates have been fixed. As one of the specimens fulfilling this requirement may be claimed the Buddha torso N 18, on the Dharmarājika stūpa at Taxila, whose masonry is in semi-ashlar style (11).

The existing material does not allow us to undertake any inner arrangement. But what we can notice is the fact that these works have been conceived much more freely and picturesquely, thus sharply distinguishing themselves from schematic productions of the II century.

Let us, however, go into details. In the representation of the drapery, free in itself, natural, and full of nervous unrest, the ends, falling down over the left leg, cover loosely and in playful elegance the entire seat, flowing in richly jagged, wave-like frills. It is precisely this pattern which is so uncommonly significant for the III, IV and V centuries.

But the luxuriant play of the hems is not always fully developed. In a like manner one may also notice, both in the simple and in the rich forms, that the drapery seems to consist of an exceedingly delicate, crêpe-de-Chine-like texture, which, frilling easily, clings softly to the body so that the latter can under all circumstances be perceived through the garment. It is an ideal which was destined to find its most beautiful realization in the contemporary Gupta arts.

What strikes us in the heads are the long-drawn curves outlining the form and thus postulating the rendering of the eye, and above all the sharply outlined hair where the locks subside into equally long waves from the middle of the forehead (12).

These traits may also be observed on the heads of Mohrā Morādu, only here the clear and impressive lineaments are softened and smoothed down. As the same far-reaching tendency to relax is also noticeable in the figure themes, which Marshall ascribes to the IV and V centuries (13), it is possible that the above-described specimens from the chapels N 18 and N 16 represent the earlier style. In Jauliāñ, where the latest works of this period are to be found, we are evidently in the presence of the last phase of this picturesque style (14). Plate 158

If we now examine the artistic productions of the III and IV centuries, we shall be struck by the pronounced preference for stucco and terra-cotta. Stone sculpture has become rare, and both quantitatively and qualitatively it is far behind the works executed in a soft material that can be easily shaped and fashioned, and readily produced in series after an established model (15). One must, however, beware of explaining the peculiar style of this period by consideration of the material worked in. The productions at Taxila in the I century B.C. show that other effects could also be obtained with stucco and terra-cotta. Plate 158 top

The researches of Marshall have shown that from the III to the V century a canon for form and design had obtained in North-West India which was more closely related to the "Hellenistic prototypes" than to those prevalent towards the end of the II century. The peculiarity which all these works have in common is the notion that the drapery must cover the body only as a sort of gossamer tissue. That is also the bond which unites the later Gandhāra plastic art with the contemporary sculpture of the Indian peninsula.

The reasons of this fresh and surprising impetus cannot be discussed here, as they do not enter within the framework of the present Essay. It is surely no coincidence when this "Renaissance" coincides with the establishment of the dynasty of the Sassanians in Persia. From a passage in Albiruni's *India* one might conclude that in consequence of the revival of the Zoroastrian religion in Persia, the Buddhists dwelling there had returned home (16). In any case, the strong Persian influence as evident upon the coins of the "Lesser Kuṣāṇā" shows that an artistic contact existed between Iran and North-West India (17).

These facts will not be unwelcome to those who feel that the fine frills of the drapery ends are reminiscent of the rock reliefs of the III century near Naksh-i-Rustem (18).

Now there are a number of sculptures, particularly among those coming from Sahri-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bāhi, which possess neither the stylistic peculiarities of the II century nor those of the III and IV centuries. A careful analysis, especially of the folds, leads us to the conclusion that they must precede the sculptures of the II century.

Plate 152 Let us first consider the figure of the seated Buddha and remember how the drapery end on the left leg was depicted in the II century. It does not fall down and spread out freely and naturally, but is gathered up in a more or less billowing and baggy bundle, flattened below without emphasizing the extremities. In addition to this the drapery only slightly covers the seat.

Plate 145 If we now look round for the prototype which served as a model for this fold arrangement, we come across sculptures, such as the Buddha of mound C at Sahri-Bahlol (19). He is undoubtedly the nobler progenitor of those proletarian effigies encountered upon the reliefs of structure L at Taxila.

Plate 144 Here, at Sahri-Bahlol, there still prevails in full force that conception which during the II century is nothing but a feeble and probably no longer understood reminiscence. If we further pursue the curious motif we encounter the well-known Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhi in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. Now we understand how it was originally: it is the crossed right foot that produces that bend in the drapery spread over it.

This fact is important, for it shows that we are in the presence of an art which pays attention to naturalness and reality, endeavouring to render the optical impression in a correct objective manner. For to be seated in Yogi fashion with the soles of the feet turned upwards, as represented in later plastic art, is really an impossibility, and can only be attributed to an unnatural artistic conception which unhesitatingly sacrifices objective reality for the sake of a decorative design.

And because such is not yet the case with the Berlin Buddha, this circumstance may be claimed as evidence of the fact that Western ideas still exercised a decisive influence upon the representation of form. For this reason also the specimen must be considered as being of an earlier date than that of Sahri-Bahlol, where the naturalistic motif has already made way for schema and

routine. The entire later development speaks in favour of and warrants the assumption of this antedating.

A comparison between the two sculptures will reveal a number of other differences pointing in the same direction. Thus the fold-lines in the Berlin Buddha are freer, more unrestrained, and the separate flutings do not run in parallel paths as is the case at Sahri-Bahlol. Important is the portion on the right side of the chest. Whereas in the older work the folds are gathered in one spot, in the later specimen they are running in the same direction and are disposed in parallel lines round the body. The same phenomenon manifests itself on the left arm. In contrast to the endeavour of the artist to represent the drapery folds in their natural plurality there is a schematic simplification. One must also observe the disparity between the draperies on the thighs.

Attention must also be drawn to the following circumstance: Whereas in the Buddha of Takht the drapery is conceived as something which covers and enshrouds the body, in the specimen of Sahri-Bahlol the transparency of the drapery is clearly and distinctly expressed. Here, too, the new conception of form becomes evident.

At the first glance and with even cursory examination the Buddha of Sahri-Bahlol will appear as strikingly resembling a specimen of the III or IV century; but a minute analysis will show considerable differences. There is first the delicate modelling of the hair and its loose treatment, then the plastically conceived drapery with its long, beautiful and pervading lines.

What is more significant, however, is the fact that the sanghatī, in spite of its clinging to the body, gives the impression of having been manufactured from a delicate but not too thin woollen stuff. We have only to compare it with that flimsy chiffon-like tissue in which the later period likes to wrap its gods.

Plates 156, 160

The Berlin Buddha cannot possibly be mistaken for a later production, for those heavy forms and the clear lineaments are no longer to be met with in any other specimen of the III or IV centuries.

If we now proceed to the motif of the standing Buddha, we shall have to call in to our aid in this connection another figure from Takht-i-Bāhi (20) which belongs to the same phase of style as the seated Buddha from Sahri-Bahlol. There is the same tendency to arrange the folds in parallel lines – an emphasized and a feebler fold even alternate – there is the same tendency to show the parts of the body through the clinging transparent drapery. This is

Plate 146

obtained in both cases by rather violent means, viz. by very deep cavities and flutings made for the purpose of accentuating through the contrast the other parts of the body. Here, too, the schematization which had remodelled the motif of the crossed leg into a decorative play of folds, arranging the drapery in large folds, is at work. The harmony existing between the two specimens seems to me to go beyond the contemporary style. If we take into consideration the proximity of the two settlements, it is quite probable that we have to deal here with the productions of the same artist.

Two statues, one from Chārsada and the other from Lauṛiyān Tāngai, may be taken into account with regard to the prototypes of the seated Buddha.

With regard to both style and time, the Buddha of Chārsada (21) is nearest to the work of Takht. Here the problem of transparency is solved in an excellent manner. There is a careful distribution of the artistic accents which counts upon fineness of effect and must not be confused with the somewhat rough technique of later workers. The fact that we have to do here with an earlier work is attested by the freer treatment of the cast of the folds.

The stereotyped, too schematic parallels are avoided, whereas such curious designs as the forked fold, that we find at the level of the elbow on the statue of Takht, is not yet possible. Anyhow, the predilection for long lines, rendered with a certain impressive sharpness, is manifested in the Chārsada Buddha.

Of all this nothing is to be noticed on the specimen from Lauṛiyān Tāngai. It has unfortunately been badly preserved, but it can be easily seen that the drapery had been conceived as a separate volume. It is reproduced such as it is meant to be, namely as a piece of heavy, coarse stuff.

Both statues are of paramount importance for the history of art. They are dated respectively, the Buddha of Chārsada, or at least its pedestal, in the year 384, and the Buddha of Lauṛiyān Tāngai in the year 318 of an era not more particularly determined.

In the case of the Chārsada Buddha we have in so far a basis enabling us to date it in the I century A.D., as a coin of Kadphises was discovered under its basement *in situ* (22).

This warrants the conclusion that the statue was executed between 50 and 78 A.D. Moreover, the fixing of the era has thus been facilitated. Here, too, the era of either the Maurya or the Seleucidæ can alone be taken into consideration. J. Ph. Vogel has discussed the problem in a masterful manner and

decided in favour of the era of the Seleucidæ (23). The result is the year A.D. 72 as date of origin.

There is no doubt that the date of the Loṛiyān Tāngai Buddha refers to the same era as those of the Haṣṭnagar socle and of the Harītī. It is certainly older than the Chārsada Buddha, for it unmistakably manifests a clear and incorruptible sense of reality, the legacy of Bactrian Hellenism to its Central Asiatic heirs. There is nothing more interesting than the struggle between Western naturalism and the rising formalism. Full of strength and vigour at the start, the Western tendency is driven back and about A.D. 72 the victory is clearly on the side of the East.

With the date of A.D. 6 the distance between these works and the reliquary of Bīmarān has diminished by half a century.

The history of the plastic art of Gandhāra had first to be reconstructed with the help of several works whose dates are fixed; and now, with a view to a better understanding, we shall give a connected description of the change effected in the representation of forms.

Towards the middle of the I century B.C. the Central Asiatic Śaka took over, together with the Buddhist faith, a provincially coloured Hellenism, the art of the Greek princely courts. The oldest testimony of this new North-West Indian art will prove to be the Bīmarān reliquary.

Now it is rather difficult to draw conclusions with regard to the peculiar contemporary style from the reliefs on a small chased box. A few important fundamental criteria may nevertheless be found.

The reliquary is ornamented with figures standing in niches formed by simple and rather slender pilasters and a fluted semicircular arch. The arch is surmounted by a longitudinal vault running into a point in the shape of a "sun window". The motif has been borrowed from contemporary architecture, for it occurs again upon altar 1 of block F, at Sirkap, which may be a little more recent than that of block G where, in the chamber of relics, a steatite box with eight coins of Azes I was discovered (24).

The greatest interest is claimed by the figures, whose strong agitation strikes one at the first glance, for even the Buddha moves along, whereas the worshipper to his left is rushing in upon him. The drapery, much agitated and greatly reminiscent of the Hellenistic ideal, has been conceived as a separate volume and covers the body. This is also, generally speaking, true of the first monu-

mental free figure of the Buddha. Instead of walking along it now stands facing the spectator. Little can be said about the drapery on account of its bad preservation. Upon the right arm, where it falls down straight, it is clearly represented as a heavy and voluminous mass of stuff. But at the same time a tendency asserts itself, albeit still timidly, to dispose the drapery round the body in such a way that the forms underneath the garments become visible. In contradistinction to the III and IV centuries, this period models the drapery more plastically, lending it a certain independence and a weight of its own.

It would be a mistake to explain this phenomenon as being due to an imitative intention. A conception of form manifested itself, and then quickly afterwards became prominent and asserted itself towards the close of the art of Gandhāra. It consists in the idea that the structure of the human body should be to some extent perceived under its covering. India, even more distinctly than Gandhāra, had subscribed to this ideal. The fundamental difference between the two ideas lies in the heterogeneous conception of the body beneath the drapery. Gandhāra conceives it as a harmonious self-sufficing entity, whereas India thinks of it as a system of various parts with different functions.

This principle of formulation has scarcely manifested itself in the Buddha of Loṣiyān Tāngai, for there the drapery still separates from the body strongly and distinctly. For the same reason, both on account of the agitated free fold-lines, which endeavour faithfully to render the fortuitousness of the natural prototype, and on account of the vastly conceived treatment of the hair, the Berlin Buddha will have to precede that of Chārsada.

The Chārsada Buddha, dated in the year A.D. 72, definitely attests the victory of the new ideal. Chest and lower part of the torso, thighs and knees protrude distinctly. Both in the principal figure and in the figures upon the socle, the artist clearly expressed his predilection for long and rhythmic lines which for some time had impressed upon North-West Indian sculpture its characteristic stamp. The beautiful outline becomes even more striking in consequence of the contrast offered by the baggy mass of drapery down upon the lower thigh.

The logical progress along the track entered upon has resulted in figures like the standing Buddha from Takht and the seated Buddha from Sahri-Bahlol. The transparency of the drapery, one of the problems in the case of the Chārsada Buddha, has now become the chief theme and received a convincing solution.

In the seated Buddha the corner of the drapery falling down from the left hand upon the seat deserves notice. Its spontaneous movement is nothing but the result of the misunderstood original meaning of the crossed leg, a device which in a comparatively short time was changed into a decorative play of folds. It is needless to add that this trait entirely fits in with the general schematization which also distinctly manifests itself in the manner in which the drapery is spread out over the seat. On the other hand, the treatment of the hair, albeit still quite loose, has changed but little since A.D. 72. The *uṣṇīṣa* is still represented wide and full.

The statue of *Haritī* from *Dherī* is dated in the year A.D. 87 and therefore falls under the reign of *Kaniṣka*. Various indications, such as the rendering of the eye and of the mouth, lead to the conclusion that it is the work of a native artist. Moreover, the extraordinary clumsiness of the figure shows that the artist was not precisely one of the best in his profession.

Anyhow, we may conclude that the schematization of plastic art under the reign of *Kaniṣka* had made rapid progress. The small and narrow folds of the drapery clinging round the *Haritī* are encountered again in the drapery of the two worshippers upon the *Kaniṣka* reliquary. The latter may have been executed between A.D. 78 and 101, and judging by the style of the drapery I am inclined to date it in the year A.D. 90.

The draperies of the seated Buddhas on the reliquary are symmetrically arranged, and the corners are thrust in under the thighs. This important innovation, bringing along with it the omission of the baggy end, will have come into fashion about this time. On the other hand, the light cast of the draperies of *Indra* and *Brahma*, and especially the assembling of three free figures in a group, must be attributed to the Western origin of the artist *Agesilaos*. X

The rough and rustic strength noticed in the reliquary and the reliefs of the *stūpa* from *Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī*, is also manifested on a relief of the structure *L* at *Taxila* which undoubtedly belongs to the II century (25). The drapery end of the Buddha is flat and stunted, the figures are short and stumpy, whereas upon another relief of an identical structure they are slimmer. The latter again seem to point to the shadowy and unsubstantial figures of the close of the century. The drapery is fluted with flat parallel folds; it is the end of the schematic style which had been in vogue all throughout the II century. We have thus followed up the change of form down to the threshold of the III

century, as far as the boundary where our inquiry and research concerning early Indian plastic art must stop.

Characterizing the sculpture of Gandhāra is no easy task. Catchwords, such as "Græco-Indian mixed art", will help us but little. We are asking to what extent did the nations participate in this art, and we are faced by the disconcerting fact that only after the fall of the Greek dominion this art rises up. The Central Asiatic nations, the Śaka and the Kuṣāṇā, are its bearers, and neither the West nor India has become clearly manifest. Moreover, the relation between the components is changing continually. And yet, there must be something which all the sculptures of North-West India have in common, something which will at once mark them as hailing from this corner of India, no matter whether they were executed in the I or in the IV century.

If we examine any characteristic Gandhāra head we shall always encounter long and beautifully drawn line themes. That precision of the contour with its abstract coldness and its wilful rhythmic movement exists since the middle of the I century—in other words, quite early—and retains its sway until the beginning of the II century. From the III century onwards the style becomes picturesque, and as plastic art is aiming at optical effects, the line loses its harshness and terseness.

The clear, crystalline outline, as it is found in several sculptures, is thus characteristic of North-West Indian art only to a limited degree. What is more significant for the aesthetic impression, is the harmonious flow of the lines which, enveloping the forms in euphonious curves, produce a rhythm not only absolutely opposed to the antique but also entirely un-Indian. No wonder, therefore, that the Hindus decline this art of the indolent line.

For the allusion to the patriotic zeal which was unable to get over the formulation of the first Buddha statue by a sculptor of the North-West does not yet warrant our passing lightly over this refusal. The somewhat indolent rhythm of the North-West is diametrically opposed to the active, urging and syncopated rhythm of India. This essentially different attitude taken up towards the visible world is also manifested in the fundamentally different conception of the body. An Indian torso, full of tension on account of the manner in which the single parts are joined, is greatly distinguished from a Gandhāra torso with its balanced, mitigated and clarified proportions. No doubt the disparity of

anthropological types counts for something therein, but it is due to the manner in which things are seen rather than to the subject.

An artist from the North-West of India represents the body as relaxed, without any tension in its attitude, well graduated, and the distinction between support and load is clearly brought out; in a word, it is a living totality; whereas the Hindu models the human figure as tense and strained, with slight specific weight, and lays particular stress upon the mechanical and the functional traits.

We shall have to take into consideration the entire development of the plastic art of Gandhāra if we want to do justice to this hybrid art. In the first place, it becomes clear that in addition to the Hinduization which had already set in during the I century A.D., a degeneration of the artistic forces had developed in the II century, a progressive decadence which led by degrees to an extremely debased art.

Then follows the problematic "Renaissance" of the Gandhāra art. The style has certainly changed, but certain peculiarities, such as the heavy forms and the harmony of the lines, still remain. The artist publicly professes his belief in the ideals of the I century.

This is significant. A revival of an artistic impulse after a period of decadence is not so surprising as it might appear at a first glance. On the other hand, the return to the essentially identical form canon is rather surprising, and one might think that the North-West, which had begun comparatively quickly to penetrate the foreign element with its own, was now endeavouring with full insight to join the national Indian art. Especially since the driving force of Western art, without the aid of which the cultivation of the new forms would never have been attained, ceases in the III century. Instead of turning to India, the artists throw themselves upon the productions of the seventies and eighties of the I century A.D.

The phenomenon admits of only one interpretation, namely that the people inhabiting Afghanistan and the plains as far as the Indus took up these forms because the latter, and they alone, corresponded to their artistic ideals. There are of course a few connections with Indian art, as is natural in geographically adjacent districts.

The early Indian art itself has moreover never raised any claim to these districts. While during the II century B.C. material evidence is met all over the vast peninsula, here the soil remained mute. Greek influence had brought

Hellenistic art to the country, but the latter nevertheless had to suffer greatly from political disfavour and soon lost its vigour and strength when the irresistible flood tide of the Śaka and Kuṣāna, rushing in from all sides, absorbed piece after piece of the Greek enclaves. The Central Asiatic conquerors took over the treasure and apparatus of forms bequeathed by dying Hellenism, submitted as far as it was inherent in their nature to the influence of the Indian spirit and particularly of Buddhism; while they, in their turn, brought their fresh vigour, their peculiar taste and perception to which the inherited forms were bound to yield. The result of these circumstances was the peculiar art of Gandhāra. The bearers of this art were people inwardly foreign to the Hindu; they were descendants of another race, harbouring other ideals to which they tenaciously continued to cling. The difference may perhaps be due also to the absence of Dravidian elements, for Kashmir, too, with its Indo-Āryan population, has acknowledged and accepted the same conceptions of form, tenaciously clinging to them: whereas, on the other hand, the unmistakable peculiarity of every artistic expression upon Indian soil is due to Dravidian blood, however much it may have been blended.

NOTES

- 1] In the doubts raised by COOMARASWAMY (*The Art Bulletin*, ix, 4, New York, 1927, p. 319), which I came across while the proofs of the present work were being corrected, I cannot share. I see no reason for doubting the trustworthiness of Masson.
- 2] D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī*, A.S.R., 1908-9, pp. 49 ff.
- 3] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila*, A.S.R., 1912-13, pp. 15 f.
- 4] A.S.R., 1914, p. 6, Pl. 5 *b, c*.
- 5] The artist calls himself upon the inscription Agesilaos (A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 138; J.R.A.S., 1909, 1058 ff.), which of course does not yet prove anything concerning his origin. I think that it is rather the joining together of the three free figures into a well-constructed group that seems to speak in favour of a Western origin.

- 6] A.S.R., 1908-9, Pl. 14 *a*. For the correctness of Marshall's "masonry" theory Plate 11 speaks: that is, "large diaper masonry", which he ascribes to the end of the I century. Here there can be no doubt that the structure was raised about this time.
- 7] The reading 399 was not firmly established from the beginning, cf. VOGEL, *Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures*, A.S.R., 1903-4, pp. 254; J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 986.
- 8] A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 25, Pl. 19, 20. Marshall points out explicitly that the stūpa is not noticeable on account of any architectural signs, and is in no way distinguished from other monuments of the same nature such as the Bhallar and Kunala stūpas, executed in the III and IV centuries; cf. *Guide to Taxila*, p. 104.
- 9] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 10] A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 29, Pl. 23-4.
- 11] *Ibid.*, p. 3, Pl. 2 *b*, 3 *a*.
- 12] A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 3, Pl. 3 *g*.
- 13] *Ibid.*, p. 28, Pl. 23 *c*. *Guide to Taxila*, Pl. 27.
- 14] A.S.R., 1916-17, Part I, Pl. S C. SIR JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila: The Stūpas and Monasteries at Jauliāñ*. Memoirs of the A.S.J., No. 7.
- 15] A.S.R., p. 20, . . . for no evidence as yet forthcoming that stone sculptures of any real merit were produced in Gandhāra after the III century.
- 16] ALBIRUNI'S *India*, Ed. and Tr. Sachau, London, 1888, Vol. 1, p. 21.
- 17] Cf. V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, p. 289.
- 18] FRIEDRICH SARRE, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, T. 71-83.
- 19] A.S.R., 1911-12, Pl. 48, 33.
- 20] A.S.R., 1907-8, Pl. 48, *c*.
- 21] The statue really comes from Pālātū Dherī, near Chārsada. The socle was sawn off and brought to the British Museum, and is known as the "Haṣṭ-nagar socle". Cf. JOHN MARSHALL and J. PH. VOGEL, *Excavations at Chārsada*, A.S.R., 1902-3, p. 14.
- 22] Cf. A. FOUCHER, A.G.B. II, p. 548.
- 23] J. PH. VOGEL, *Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures*, A.S.R., 1903-4, pp. 257 ff. Vogel has not even raised the question of the Maurya era, while Foucher gives it the preference; cf. A.G.B. II, p. 490, cf. 188.

24] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila*, A.S.R., 1912-13, Pl. 26, 27a; for block G, Pl. 28, 29c. One should also observe the existence of the eagle, in one case one-headed, in another double-headed, upon reliquary and altar.

25] Cf. p. 80.

IV

BUDDHA STATUES IN NORTH-WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA

UNHESITATINGLY the sculptors of North-West India have borrowed the Olympian gods and presented them, more or less disguised, to the followers of Buddhism in their homeland as the Illuminated and his suite. Apollo and effigies of the type of Eubuleus became Buddhas (1), while Jupiter and Hercules, Eros, Hermes, Dionysius and Pan were changed into Vajrapani, the inseparable companion of the Sublime One (2). Their origin is stamped upon their countenances, and they make no secret of their descent.

The careful observer, however, will not fail to notice that just in the case of the Buddha it is impossible to speak of a firmly established type either in the art of the North-West or in that of the North and South of India.

New formulations were added to the old ones and the problem became the more complicated since no dates could be given. Faced by an inextricable tangle of heterogeneous forms, European scholars endeavoured to introduce some sort of order with the aid of such vague conceptions as "decadence" and "degeneration".

Nor will the enumeration of the variegated types help us much so long as we have neither fixed the time when they first appeared nor discovered the driving forces which led to their formulation. An attempt will therefore be made here to advance in this direction, but even then the result will be problematical, should we have to limit our inquiry to the narrow circle of the art of Gandhāra.

There are a certain number of works which, when conscientiously examined, will furnish us with important indications concerning the changes which the representation of the Illuminated One had to undergo. We refer to the specimens of Mathurā, whose dates have been firmly established. Hitherto this material, eminently important for the history of art, has been but little utilized. The reason is not difficult to guess. In addition to the confusion concerning the beginnings of Gandhāra art, there prevailed until quite recently a doubt as to whether Kaniṣka, in whose era the sculptures of Mathurā are dated, had lived in the I century B.C. or A.D.

In the meantime it has been proved that the latter assumption was the

correct one, and the majority of arguments speak in favour of Kaniṣka having been the founder of the Śaka era (3). This altered state of affairs made it necessary in a large measure to call to our aid the dated specimens from Mathurā.

We know that the appearance of the Buddha is characterized by the thirty-two major and eighty minor signs of beauty (4). There is no question here, as later on in the case of the Śilpa Śāstras, of iconographical expedients intended to guarantee the exact and effective formulation of an image, but of a grouping together of astrologically important signs significant when the horoscope of the newly-born was drawn up (5).

Senart has shown that these ideas go far beyond the confines of Buddhism, having taken root in the older Brahmanic myths (6). Thus the lakṣanas of Buddha coincide in all the important points with those of Mahāpuruṣa, the "Great Being" (7). Mahāpuruṣa again, in his turn, is merged with Viṣṇu into one divine principle (8). To Viṣṇu also goes back the idea of Chakravartin, "the ruler of the world" (9). Now the beauty marks of a Chakravartin and of a Buddha are identical; if the possessor remains addicted to worldly life he becomes a Chakravartin, whereas he is a Buddha if he abandons that life.

The conceptions flow one into the other, Chakravartin, Mahāpuruṣa and Buddha being, as Senart has rightly pointed out, "only names, or more exactly, different aspects of one and the same type".

Be it however as it may, what is significant is the fact that the lakṣana indicate a being of a supernatural compass, rising far above the human species, and the Buddha belongs to this category. The artist who wished to create the figure of the Buddha was faced by the task of applying these marks of distinction to a human form. Only those marks of course came under consideration which could be expressed by formal means, such as, in particular, the following: The head has a bump or an excrescence (uṣṇīṣa), the hair is short and curly, each curl running from left to right, between the eyebrows there is a mole (ūrnā), and under the soles of the feet appear two wheels with a thousand spokes (10).

NOTES

- 1] A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 141 f.; A. FOUCHER, A.G.B., II, p. 284.
- 2] *Ibid.*, pp. 48 ff., Figs. 327, 332.
- 3] Cf. p. 126, note 6.
- 4] The list in A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 138 f.
- 5] A. FOUCHER, A.G.B., II, p. 286.
- 6] E. SENART, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, Paris, 1882, pp. 28 ff.
- 7] *Ibid.*, p. 160; H. v. GLASENAPP, *Der Hinduismus*, München, 1922, pp. 165 f.
- 8] SENART, *Essai*, p. 92.
- 9] *Ibid.*, pp. 85 f.
- 10] The numbers 1, 2, 4 and 31 of the Major Signs.

ONE might have imagined that considering such an unmistakably fixed canon there would be no deviations in the representation of the Buddha, and that one image would be like the other. Such, however, is not the case. It is just the *uṣṇīṣa* and the spiral locks, albeit they occupy a prominent position, which, by their variegated appearance, betray the fact that there can be no question of any uniform conception. Even within the relatively narrow district of Gandhāra the different conceptions prevail. This disparity is among others, such as the rendering of the drapery, very significant for the historical development of the Buddha type.

Let us, however, cling to facts and not to hypotheses. The first and oldest figure of Buddha known to us is found upon the Bīmarān reliquary, which will most probably have been executed in the second third of the last century B.C. Here the Sublime One appears in flowing, violently agitated, drapery, covering both shoulders and falling down from the forearms. The beardless face may originally have had a more friendly aspect, but now in its bumped and battered state it looks rather ordinary and anything but noble. There is no *ūrṇā* or mole between the eyes, nor are there any spiral locks. The thick hair covering the head is twisted on the crown of the head into a large knot, which produces the effect of a loose structure.

Plate 140

In the case of the Buddha from Loṣṭiyān Tāngai, dated in the year A.D. 6, considering the fact that the head is missing, we can only speak of the drapery, which here, too, covers the shoulders.

Plate 142

This applies also to the seated Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhi, which is to be classified between those of Loṣṭiyān Tāngai and of Chārsada. The head is perfectly well preserved and the *ūrṇā* appears in the shape of a small, round button. The hair appears to be thick, running in moving waves backwards from the forehead; the *uṣṇīṣa*, wide and full, is part of the hairdressing.

Plate 144

Albeit the style changes, the types remain identical, from the Chārsada Buddha of the year A.D. 72 to the standing and seated images of the Illuminated One of Takht-i-Bāhi and of Sahri-Bahlol. There is the same friendly, youthful countenance, the thick hair overflowing the knot on the crown of the head, and the drapery covering both shoulders. To this category belongs also the Buddha of the Kaniṣka reliquary, in spite of its crude workmanship. Towards

the close of the I century we meet a new type; viz. the Scythian Buddha with a moustache, but there is no essential change in either head or drapery (1).

Plate 152

The Bodhisattva on the Haṣṭnagar socle, which belongs to the Chārsada Buddha, is still represented as a handsome beardless youth. Now a critical comparison of the styles shows that several Bodhisattvas go together with the few later youthful Buddhas from Takht-i-Bāhi. There is an almost square countenance with large goatee and moustache, together with the heavy and tired Mongolian traits (2). The ideal seems to have been transferred to the Buddha at an early date. Now since the appearance of the new type can be fixed with sufficient certainty in the early period of Kaniṣka, we are entitled to assume that here we have to deal with the representations of a young Indo-Scythian. They even fit into the frame of this period which, by its decided realism, altogether upsets the old pattern.

Plate 145

A few decades later – and the schematization of the cast of the folds proves it – the possibilities of representing the seated Buddha are extended. The drapery now leaves the right shoulder and the right arm free, the uṣṇīṣa is clearly marked as an excrescence, the hair is arranged upon the head in spiral curls, while the feet, protruding from the drapery, lie flat and uncovered upon the thighs (3).

Plates 147, 153

A few words with regard to the dating of these statues. A first glance shows that they could not possibly have been executed prior to the dressed specimens from Takht-i-Bāhi and Sahri-Bahlol. On the contrary, the constrained, schematic cast of the folds points to a later origin, while the rendering of the folds by means of lines lying widely apart resembles the manner in which the theme was handled upon the reliefs of structure L at Taxila.

In conclusion, attention must be called to the stress laid upon the end of the left puffed sleeve, sticking out over the thigh, which in this formulation, albeit with internal alterations, is encountered only in the I and II centuries. For in the III and IV centuries the lappet, scarcely accentuated, falls down flatly, a similar rippling hem corresponding to it on the other side (4).

It must furthermore be pointed out that the innovations do not appear side by side, nor do they dominate the entire field, there being mixed forms whereby the unaltered old type continues to assert itself.

Foucher has already pointed out long ago that in the representation of the Buddha head in Gandhāra the artists had deviated considerably from the

orthodox standpoint. According to the ideals of the Buddhistic order the Sublime One really ought to appear baldheaded, thus resembling his monks, who are always depicted upon the reliefs with bald skulls. Foucher is of opinion that the artist thought it sufficient to omit the headgear of the Buddha, not daring, for aesthetic reasons, to deprive the Sublime One of his beautiful hair (5).

As a matter of fact, all the early statues of the Buddha in North-West India speak in favour of this assertion. The Illuminated One is left in the possession of his luxuriant hair, which is twisted into a large knot upon the crown of the head. A number of reliefs show that even ordinary mortals wear such a hairdress beneath their turbans (6). The reason for such a proceeding is plausible enough. As religious life in India is lived with uncovered head, it was sufficient to represent the Buddha bareheaded (7).

Foucher is of opinion that the faithful, ultimately repulsed by the too luxuriant hairdress of the Sublime One which stood in such open contradiction to the customary tonsure, had approached the sculptors and urged them to alter the disputed object. Thus a compromise was effected and the hair was represented in the manner in which it is attributed to the Indian ideal type in the astrological handbook (8). For the artists could not make up their minds to shave the head entirely (9). The spiral curls were then quite mechanically drawn over the head and the knot, just as the locks had formerly been drawn over the whole head (10).

In Foucher's opinion the whole matter became complicated "owing to the clumsy routine of a few sculptors' apprentices" (11). Finally, the French scholar is of opinion that we are here in presence of a progressive process, and he enumerates a series which tend to prove how the loose hair was gradually changed into the fashion of spiral curls (12).

The discussion on these hypotheses will be reopened when the various formulations which the representation of the Buddha underwent at Mathurā have been discussed.

NOTES

- 1] D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol*, A.S.R., 1909-10, Pl. 20 a-c, 22 b-c.
- 2] M. A. STEIN, *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol*, A.S.R., 1911-12; Pl. 40, 9-12.
- 3] *Ibid.*, Pl. 36-2, 41-45, 45-26, 46-27, 47-30; D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhi*, A.S.R., 1907-8, Pl. 47 b-c; D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol*, A.S.R., 1909-10, Pl. 21 c. Cf. WILLIAM COHN, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1925, Pl. 6-7.
- 4] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila*, A.S.R., 1915-16, Pl. 19 a-d.
- 5] FOUCHER, A.G.B., II, p. 294.
- 6] Cf. FOUCHER, A.G.B., I, Fig. 234. On the other hand, I am not taking into consideration the hairdressing of a figure on a jamb at Bodh Gayā (A.G.B., II, p. 294, note 2), as I think that I have already proved that there we have to deal with the hairdress of a Brahman, cf. L. BACHHOFER, *Eine Pfeilerfigur aus Bodh Gayā*, Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, 1925, pp. 74 f.
- 7] FOUCHER, A.G.B., II, p. 294.
- 8] FOUCHER, A.G.B., Vol. II, p. 301.
- 9] *Ibid.*, p. 295: "Le donateur, au gout déjà un tantinet hellénisé, renonce à raser selon la règle bouddhique la tête du Maître; le sculpteur déjà fortement indianisé accepte de lui appliquer le deuxième des 32 signes, à savoir 'les cheveux bouclés et tous tournés vers la droite'".
- 10] *Ibid.*, pp. 295 f.
- 11] *Ibid.*, pp. 696 f.
- 12] *Ibid.*, p. 701.

IN the year 3 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 81) a sculptor at Mathurā was commissioned to execute the life-size statue of a Bodhisattva which was subsequently set up at Sārnāth (1).
Plate 79

All those who return from the North-West are struck by this representation of a Bodhisattva, the inscription admitting of no doubt that it is really such. It is a rough, large statue, standing there without any ornamentation and covered with a thin drapery that leaves the right shoulder free. The heavy head is round, with protruding eyes. Most significant is the treatment of the head. Instead of the glorious locks customary in Gandhārian art, one notices the bald skull of a Buddhist monk, the shaving being expressed by means of a slight rising above the forehead and the temples. The uṣṇīṣa is missing, and where it ought to have been there is a flat cavity which may have contained the mark.

Of the three Bodhisattva statues from Mathurā, which greatly resemble each other, this dated specimen is the only one which retains the head. A few other works from Mathurā are related to this group. Let us now study closely the well-known relief of Katra and a similar fragment in the Museum of Ethnology at Munich.
Plates 81, 82

On the piece from Katra, which is quite intact, the Bodhisattva – as such the statue is described by the inscription – is seated with crossed legs in front of a rich background, carrying the halo, behind which the foliage of the pipal-tree is standing out. To the left and to the right stand two flywhisk-bearers in secular robes, with two similar figures of smaller dimensions, soaring in mid-air. The Bodhisattva is seated upon the lion-throne, which characterizes him as Bodhisattva Gautama, without any ornament, arrayed in a fine garment which allows his torso to shine through it, leaving his right side bare. Between his eyebrows there is a small mole; the head is bald, and on the skull there is a formation in the shape of a conch-shell winding from left to right. Both on the unconstrained soles of the feet and on the palm of the right hand there is a symbol of the wheel.

In some respects the Munich specimen can help us to make things clearer: the ūrnā is not rendered as an embossed little button, but is distinctly characterized as a formation consisting of hair, engraved in the stone, whereas the

elevation upon the bare head is wrapped round from left to right with a lock of hair.

Just as in the case of the statue of the year 3 (A.D. 81), so also in the work of Katra it is surprising to find that the statue which bears all the marks of a Buddha should be given out as that of a Bodhisattva. Indeed, an almost identical work from Anyor, the head and right arm of which are unfortunately missing, is designed as the image of a Buddha (2). Thus in seated figures there is no distinction made between a Buddha and a Bodhisattva (3); but this applies also to the statues, for here as well as there the Bodhisattva is represented by a figure with the typical distinguishing marks of a Buddha.

Plate 83 left

It is remarkable with what consistency the artist of Mathurā has reproduced the characteristic marks of a Buddha on this figure of Katra. He, too, was faced by the difficulty of making the bald head of a Buddhistic monk obviously agree with the distinguishing marks which are the apanage of a Mahāpurusha, of the Chakravartin and of the Buddha. He thus represented a shaven skull surmounted by a bump about which the hair winds itself from left to right (4).

On the head of the Katra Bodhisattva the phenomenon is not quite clearly expressed, the plait round the uṣṇīṣa being broad. On the Munich specimen, however, no doubt is possible, the bump or excrescence being surrounded by a fine fluting, distinctly marked as hair.

This is rather significant, since it settles the point raised by Foucher according to which the slight rising which is in reality calculated to bring out clearly the contrast between the shaven head and the naturally hairless forehead is supposed to indicate the hair (5). There is no valid reason why in one place of the head the hair should unmistakably be represented as such, while close by it should only be indicated by quite other means.

Judging from expression, intention, conception, and artistic mastery of the subject, these Buddha-Bodhisattvas from Mathurā are purely Indian. It will hardly require a comparison with any conception prevalent in North-West India with regard to the two types, to show that they have absolutely nothing in common. Head and torso have been executed after quite a different ideal of beauty; the drapery covers only the left shoulder, and there is finally a gulf between the fold-work and a Gandhāra drapery.

A work, therefore, which does not betray the slightest trace of a foreign influence either in cast or in style must be considered as indigenous; and it

remains to the credit of Vogel that it was he who remarked the absence of any connection between the North-West and the Buddha-Bodhisattvas at Mathurā (6).

Victor Goloubew afterwards energetically assumed the rôle of champion of an "Indian" Buddha against the "Græco-Buddhistic" Buddha, but he went far beyond his goal when he called the Buddha "pre-Gandhāra" and suggested that the Buddha representations of Mathurā were older than those of the North-West (7).

The date of the representations of the Buddha-Bodhisattva at Mathurā becomes thus a burning question.

The first work of a fixed date is the Bodhisattva of Sārnāth, dated in the year 3 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 81). Its harsh lineaments, the stiffness of the figure, the pettiness and minuteness of the drapery, all tend to prove that we are in the presence of an innovation in plastic art. The drapery of the Bodhisattva of Sārnāth shows on the left arm a narrow, fine and regular fluting advancing as far as the wrist. Therein the Bodhisattva discovered at Set Mahet resembles the Sārnāth specimen to such a degree that we are justified in assuming the two figures to be contemporary.

Plate 79

The drapery of the Anyor Buddha must be considered as a further development of that scheme of folds, while a more mature conception is also exhibited in the wonderful execution of the torso (8).

Plate 83 left

We must therefore assume that the Anyor Buddha was executed after the year 3 (A.D. 81). The Munich relief is again closely related to the Anyor work in its drapery, but it is less differentiated in the torso. It is perhaps the oldest known representation of the seated Buddha-Bodhisattva of Mathurā. A further development is manifested in the Katra Bodhisattva, which must be assigned to the close of the century. The exceedingly rich background, the rendering of the drapery of the attendants, the manner in which they are energetically pushed into the background by the principal figure, and last but not least the fine modelling of the bodies, all these circumstances speak in favour of a later date.

Plates 81-82

When Vogel stated the significant fact that the Mathurā Buddha-Bodhisattva could not have come directly from the North-West, he immediately added the remark that there were other figures of the Sublime One which we cannot avoid connecting directly with Gandhāra (9). Indeed, there are a number of

works extant which, as was done from the beginning in Gandhāra, make a sharp distinction between a Buddha and a Bodhisattva. Any doubt of these presentations coming from Peshawar is excluded.

Of extreme importance is the question as to the relationship in time existing between the Gandhāra Buddha and the indigenous Buddha-Bodhisattva within the field of Mathurā art. Did they peacefully exist side by side, or has the one eclipsed the other? Upon the answer given to this question will depend the entire problem as to whether India had succeeded in creating independently and out of itself a purely Indian type of a Buddha.

The first work which can boast a fixed date is the statue of Sārnāth, dated in the year 3 (A.D. 81). It is associated with a number of works which draw no distinction between a Buddha and a Bodhisattva. The last standing Buddha-Bodhisattva is the statue of Lakhanu, dated in the year 35 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 113) (10), which greatly resembles the Sārnāth statue, with the only difference that between the legs of the figure there is a bundle of lotus-buds instead of a lion. In the year 1916 a torso of a seated type was discovered in the district of Mathurā, and is dated in the year 39 under the reign of Huviṣka (A.D. 117) (11). We may therefore assume that the Buddha-Bodhisattva type, represented without any ornamentation and with a bare right side, must have been the predominant type between the years A.D. 81 and 117.

Plate 83

The first sculpture representing the Buddha in the manner customary in Gandhāra hails from Anyor and is dated in the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 129); the drapery now covers both shoulders (12). On the socle there is a relief showing the Buddha in meditation between two worshippers, while two lions flank the scene to the left and to the right (13).

If we now search for another representative of this type we encounter the well-known Buddha from Sitala Ghati. Head and uṣṇīṣa are covered with spiral locks, while the drapery, leaving only the feet free, covers the entire body. This socle, too, ends in two lions. There is a Bodhisattva in the middle, now clearly indicated as such by his rich ornamentation, flanked by two worshippers on either side.

Plate 84

Everything points to Gandhāra. At the first glance the cast of the drapery can be recognized as an inaccurate copy of a North-Western model, for here as there the elevations are lightly put on. Sometimes, as is the case on the right shoulder, the artist lapses into the indigenous art by indicating the drapery

through a slight excavation of the stone. The fact that the scarf round the neck has not been understood is worthy of notice: the folds of the drapery are lost in it. Not less significant is the change in the end of the left sleeve, which, instead of being billowing and baggy, is now stiff, adroitly arranged and neatly pleated.

A similar specimen was discovered by Marshall at Set Mahet. It hails from Mathurā, but the drapery betrays a more uniform and less timid character. Here, too, the folds are indicated throughout by long grooves. The lively, fresh expression recalls the type of the seated Buddha-Bodhisattvas. Significant is the fact that both in this statue and in that of the Sitala Ghati Buddha, the regular corpulent form, such as the North-West delighted in, has been substituted for the Indian ideal of beauty.

Plate 85 The comparatively well-preserved pedestal reliefs show that the problem of the Bodhisattva has likewise found its own solution. He is now represented as a royal prince, decked out with his jewels and diadem. No proof is needed to attest the fact that the sharp distinction made between Bodhisattva and Buddha is to be attributed to the North-West; a torso, wearing the typical Gandhāra ornaments, will dispel the last vestige of any doubt. A necklace, the clasps of which are formed by heads of animals, a plaquette worn on the right upper arm, and above all the amulet-holder running across the chest and going back under the right armpit to the left shoulder, all these are ornamentations with which the North-West endows Bodhisattvas. At Mathurā, too, only the left shoulder is covered, while in the drapery a certain leaning towards the foreign model is distinctly shown. Nor do we miss here the neatly arranged stiff drapery ends. To all appearance this Bodhisattava figure was executed under the fresh impression made by the Gandhāra models, for later on the indigenous necklace is substituted for the North-Western ornaments, while the amulet-holder disappears entirely (14).

Plate 87 The actual arrangement of the pedestal in the seated figures deserves particular notice. Up to the year 49 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 127), the lions flanking the figures appear laterally, with their mouths shut, and the plinth runs above the animals. From the year 51 (A.D. 129) onwards the lions sit with jaws wide open; they are seen full-face and the plinth intersects their heads. Plate 144 This version comes from the North-West.

This phenomenon is likewise seen in non-Buddhist works, such as those of

the Jainas. The close relationship existing between the plastic arts of the two religious systems has already been known for some time, and more than thirty years ago Bühler said some excellent things on the subject (15). The same symbols, the same ornaments and the same mode of composition are met with in both these religious communities. This essential equality makes it possible to mention a fragment dated in the year 49 (A.D. 127) (16) in evidence of the fact that in this period Gandhāra had not yet begun to exercise its influence. It is only in the year 51 (A.D. 129) that this influence can be proved in the case of the Buddha of Anyor, for upon both statuettes, from Sitala Ghati and from Set Mahet, which belong to the same type, the lions are represented full-face and with jaws wide open. That is the form customary in Gandhāra, whereas the fragment of the year 49 exhibits the old pattern of Mathurā, namely side view and mouth shut.

Now we may be safe in admitting that Mathurā had received from the North-West the stimulus for the creation of a socle with figure reliefs. More than a quite superficial stimulus it could not have been, for the existence of any stylistical or iconographical influence prior to the year 51 of the Kaniska era (A.D. 129) has not yet been proved (17).

Very important for the development of the Buddha representations is the left part of a frieze preserved at Lucknow. Out of a series of seven Buddhas three are extant, and here it is significant that while in two of them the drapery covers both shoulders and the feet, one is seated and covered in the old fashion like the Buddha of Anyor. That is not all: the heads are neither bald nor have they any spiral locks, but the hair is thrown backwards, covering also the *uṣṇīṣa*. Not less important is the rendering of the hair: the free and waving locks of Gandhāra are now divided transversely, so that the dressing of the hair is arranged in three rows. This relief clearly establishes the contact with the North-West, for in Gandhāra, too, the Buddha wears his full and luxuriant hair. Any doubt that the figure may not have been meant to represent the Buddha is out of the question, for Maitreya, who concludes the line to the right, is clearly marked as Bodhisattva on account both of the more elaborate manner of his hairdress and of his ornaments (18).

The Gandhāra Buddha was evidently responsible for the Buddha figure of the Lucknow frieze. On the other hand, it is surprising in the highest degree that both the Buddha of Sitala Ghati and that of Set Mahet, albeit they wear a

Plate 87

Gandhāra drapery, should have spiral locks. If we follow up this trace, we arrive at the surprising result that in the year 64 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 142) the Buddha was again depicted in the old fashion, namely with bare right side and uncovered feet, but with spiral locks (19).

Plate 89

If we now rapidly examine the great number of Buddha images which were subsequently produced in Northern, Central and Southern India, we shall have to admit that none of them exhibits the waving hair of the Gandhāra Buddha, but that with the sole exception of the Māñkuwār Buddha, which shows the bald skull of a Buddhist monk (20), all the figures have their heads and uṣṇīṣa covered with spiral locks.

This proves once for all that the Mathurā Buddha-Bodhisattva was executed prior to the influx from Gandhāra. The combination alone of the two figures should be sufficient to show their independence of the North-West. As a matter of fact, from the year A.D. 6 a distinction is made in the plastic art of the latter district between the princely Bodhisattva and the Blessed One (21). Moreover, the works of the eighties, that is to say, of precisely the period in which the Buddha-Bodhisattva appears for the first time, differentiate exactly between the two figures. The analysis of the form is naturally significant: it shows that the Gandhāra Buddha and the Mathurā Buddha have absolutely nothing in common.

A further result of our inquiries is the fact that it is only after the year 49 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 127) that Gandhāra exercised any influence over the religious sculpture of Mathurā, chiefly over the representation of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. The new type was that customary in Gandhāra, namely the figure with luxuriant hair knotted on the crown of the head, and arrayed in drapery covering both shoulders and the feet. Pretty soon, prior still to the year 51 (A.D. 129), an intermediate form appears with bald head and bare uṣṇīṣa, the old idea that the uṣṇīṣa is an excrescence having rapidly gained sway.

Plate 86

To this effervescent time of transition belongs also a fragment from a toraṇa, wherein the old and the new are intermingled, but where local peculiarities are stronger than in the frieze of Lucknow. Here, too, the uṣṇīṣa appears as an organic growth, just as in the two sculptures from Sitala Ghati and Set Mahet, which have their place between the statue and the Buddha from Bodh Gayā, dated in 64 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 142). With the latter the development closes. Following the old fashion, the drapery has disappeared

from the right shoulder, the feet are bare, lying flat upon the thighs, while head and uṣṇīṣa are covered with a web of spiral locks.

In order to be able to answer the question as to when and where the spiral locks were used for the first time on a Buddha head, we shall have to remember not only that in the North-West, too, with the appearance of the spiral locks the uṣṇīṣa is marked as an excrescence, but also that the Gandhārian plastic art of the II century had entirely misunderstood its meaning. This is proved by the fact that the uṣṇīṣa, just as formerly the hair knot, is tied with a strong thread.

Plate 147 right top

What is significant is the circumstance that we do not encounter such a misunderstanding at Mathurā. We might doubt whether the uṣṇīṣa of the old Buddha-Bodhisattva type, corresponding to the original sense of the word, was anything but a peculiar mode of dressing the hair, such as it was worn by Mahāpuruṣa, Śiva and Rudra (22). But the figures from Sitala Ghati, Set Mahet, Bodh Gayā, and above all the standing Buddha, are evidence enough that the idea of uṣṇīṣa was always interpreted at Mathurā as an excrescence on the crown of the head.

To sum up: uṣṇīṣa as an excrescence, drapery leaving free the right side and uncovered feet in the seated Buddha, such are since the eighties of the I century the characteristic traits of the Buddha representation at Mathurā.

In Gandhāra down to the time of Kaniṣka, the Buddha was represented with wavy hair, tied up in a knot on the crown of the head, arrayed in drapery which covers both shoulders, and in the seated figures also the feet.

About the same time when the influence of Gandhāra upon the religious plastic art of Mathurā began to make itself felt, thus proving the existing connection between the Indus and the Jumnā, new forms appear in the North-West. The right shoulder and the right arm are deprived of their covering, the feet protrude from under the garment, the uṣṇīṣa appears as an excrescence under a cover of spiral locks.

Foucher's view with regard to the origin of the spiral locks in the North-West is well known. The Buddhists of Gandhāra had objected to the luxuriant hair on the Buddha statues, and urged for a solution more in agreement with the orthodox point of view. The transformation of the waving hair into a hair-dress of spiral locks had taken place gradually and progressively (23).

In reality there can be no question at all of such a thoroughgoing change of opinion in Gandhāra, the sculptures proving the contrary. The latest researches

Plate 158

of Marshall at Taxila show that in the III and the IV centuries, nay, even down to the close of the Gandhāra school, the old type with the free wavy hair not only existed side by side with the other conception, but even predominated (24). This proves in the first instance that in Gandhāra the old-established Buddha had not lost his existence on account of some theological objections, but that, on the contrary, he continued to survive, full of vigour and highly respected. It further proves that Foucher's line of development, however ingenious it may be, does not correspond to the facts.

Plate 153

In the II century already the two types existed peacefully side by side and here, too, the old conception retained the upper hand, albeit the drapery has, in Indian fashion, been removed from the right shoulder.

Gandhāra thus remained faithful to its Buddha with wavy hair tied up in a knot. When, however, in the representation of a head with spiral locks the *uṣṇīṣa*, characterized as an excrescence, is tied round with a cord, then this circumstance only tends to show the complete misunderstanding of the device. This can only be explained by the circumstance that the sculptors had unexpectedly been faced by tasks which were not only contrary to their artistic traditions but which also, to all appearance, had not been made sufficiently clear to them. Characterization of the *uṣṇīṣa* as an excrescence upon the crown of the head, a drapery leaving the right shoulder free and letting the feet protrude, such are three out of the four most important traits of the new Buddha type in the North-West.

But they are also the most important characteristic traits of the Buddha representations at Mathurā, where the intermediary forms, from the old conception when a single plait is wound round the excrescence down to the web of curls, can be followed up step by step. The spiral locks are characteristic of Mathurā, just as the curly head is characteristic of the North-West, where it predominated from the beginning down to the V century, whereas at Mathurā it could maintain itself only for a short time. There is no doubt, therefore, that the spiral locks of the Buddha head originated at Mathurā.

If we wish to understand how Mathurā came to produce the 'snail-like locks' we shall have to remember the notorious repugnance of its sculptors, and consequently also of its believers, for the wavy head of a Gandhāra Buddha and the obscurity of the *uṣṇīṣa* connected with it. This type prevailed only for a short time. The old fashion, deeply rooted in the indigenous soil, proved to be much

stronger than the new, and the sculptors refused to give up the excrescence upon the cranium as a sign of a superhuman being.

The important question whether the head of the Illuminated One should be represented bald or with the marks of a Mahāpurusha was once more raised when the sculptors found themselves in presence of the luxuriant hair of the Gandhāra Buddha. There is no doubt that these people had never considered the question of a possible baldness of the Buddha. And since a bald head, compared with the lakṣanas of a Mahāpurusha, is only a token of a lower rank, peculiar also to the lowest monk, the demand for a bald cranium was ignored and both head and uṣṇīṣa were covered with snail-like locks as the old texts demanded it. The sculptors of Mathurā would have found no difficulty in following this pattern since the spiral locks had been known to them for some time.

Since Bārhūt they were used to indicate short hair. Besides, the Jainas of Mathurā had a long time previously provided their Tirthakaras with a hairdress of curls, and a quadrilateral statue at Lucknow, dated in the year 15 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 92), exhibits such curls quite clearly (25). Plate 22

NOTES

- 1] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Sārnāth*, A.S.R., 1904-5, pp. 78 ff., Pl. 26 a-b.
- 2] J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 65, Pl. 23 b.
- 3] J. PH. VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, p. 40: We are thus led to the conclusion that, in seated images at least, the Mathurā sculptors of the early Kuṣānā period made no distinction between Gautama the Bodhisattva and Gautama the Buddha.
- 4] J. PH. VOGEL, A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 64, has understood it quite correctly . . . shows the shaven head of a bikṣu with a very pronounced uṣṇīṣa in the shape of a snail-shell (Skr. kaparda).
- 5] A. FOUCHER, A.G.B., II, p. 700.
- 6] J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School*, A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 66: It must be admitted that the Bodhisattva (or Buddha) type represented by the images

of the Kuṣāṇā period cannot be immediately derived from any known class of images in Gandhāra.

- 7] In his discussion on the second volume of FOUCHER's A.G.B. in *B.E.F.E.O.*, tome xxiii, Hanoi, 1924, p. 449. Recently also COOMARASWAMY in *The Art Bulletin*, ix (New York, 1927), and in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Leipzig, 1927.
- 8] J. PH. VOGEL, *Catalogue . . .*, p. 49.
- 9] J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculptures*, A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 66.
- 10] J. PH. VOGEL, *Catalogue . . .*, A63. Just in the place where the statue is expected to be described as that of either a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, the legend is destroyed.
- 11] A.S.R., 1916-17, Part 1, p. 13.
- 12] VOGEL, *Catalogue . . .*, No. A65, p. 63.
- 13] The Buddha torso of the Gandhāra type reproduced in A.S.R., 1922-23, Pl. 39, 2, is supposed, according to Rāmaprāsād Chanda (*ibid.*, p. 168), to bear the date . . . rajassa Deva . . . sara 30 gri di. The reading, however, seems to me, as far as it is possible to recognize it from the reproduction, not to be an indisputable one. Only "di" is undoubtedly and distinctly clear, while the reading of "gri" for the sign in question is not so convincing and thus the reading of the other signs is consequently questionable. Considering, however, the fact that the North-Western type of Buddha appears simultaneously with the North-Western Bodhisattva type (cf. the socles of the Buddhas of Sitala Ghati and Set Mahet), it seems to me that the existence of the Mathurā Buddha-Bodhisattva in the year 39 tells against the existence of a Gandhāra Buddha in the year 30.
- 14] Cf. SMITH, *Fine Arts*, Fig. 94.
- 15] GEORG BÜHLER, *Specimens of Jaina Sculpture from Mathurā*, Ep. Ind., II, p. 322.
- 16] It is the merit of Lüders to have fixed correctly the date which was originally read wrongly (79); cf. LÜDERS' list, No. 47.
- 17] After the sway of the North-Western influence the shape of the symbol of the wheel is changed, and henceforth it is placed upon a pillar.
- 18] As in the year 39 of the Kaniṣka era (A.D. 117) the Bodhisattva had not yet been thus represented, the relief cannot have been executed earlier than this date. It must probably have been executed in the year 49 of the

- Kaniṣka era (A.D. 127), because it is between 49 and 51 of this era that the North-Indian forms penetrate into Mathurā. Here the Bodhisattva, as he was to remain later on in Mathurā, is represented with the torso naked, though adorned with jewels and a light scarf over the left shoulder.
- 19] The statue is described in the legend as "Bodhisattva" (LÜDERS' list, No. 949). But as it represents the new Buddha type with long-drawn-out lobe of the ear (a circumstance which points to a time posterior to the Gandhārian influence), while the Buddha after the influence from North-West India is represented as a prince, arrayed in more or less rich robes, the description of the statue as a Bodhisattva may be considered to be erroneous.
- 20] SMITH, *History of Fine Arts*, Fig. 119, dated A.D. 448-9.
- 21] Principal figure and socle relief of the Loṣṭhān Tāngai Buddha, dated in the year 318 of the era of the Seleucidæ - A.D. 6.
- 22] E. SENART, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, p. 126.
- 23] Cf. p. 221.
- 24] JOHN MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila*, A.S.R., 1915-16, Pl. 20 c, d, h, 23 d, 24 b.
- 25] Cf. V. A. SMITH. *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1901, Pl. 90f. The solution of this important date is no doubt correct, as a glance at the plate after p. 388, No. 2A in E.P. Ind., 1, will show.

THE condition in which the Buddha, hailing from Gandhāra, entered Mathurā is well known; when he was seated, his garment covered his shoulders as well as his feet, and when he was standing he was lifting up the hem with his left hand, a fashion which even in the North-West obtained only under Kaniṣka (1).

We have described above how this type was remodelled at Mathurā and adapted to the indigenous Indian conceptions. The right shoulder soon freed itself in the old fashion from the unfamiliar covering, the garment having been already removed from the feet. About A.D. 142 the reaction was victorious all along the line. An entirely new Buddha appeared, his head was covered with snail-like curls, and he was arrayed in a garment thrown only over the left shoulder. In this shape the Buddha coming from his home in Mathurā conquered the South.

Upon the outer and inner railings of the stūpa of Amarāvati, besides the old symbols of the wheel, the throne and the footsteps, there are also reliefs which represent the Illuminated One in human shape. There can be no doubt that the prototypes of these representations were fetched from Mathurā.

Plate 127 All the Buddhas of Amarāvati have in common the spiral locks. Now there are a few statues on which the garment covers both shoulders, and albeit they deserve but little consideration by the side of the considerable number of statues which show the Buddha with the right shoulder bare, their existence in this locality is of great importance. They attest the fact that between A.D. 117 and 142, more exactly about A.D. 129, that is to say at a time when the completely dressed type had gained full sway at Mathurā, the contact between North and South had again been resumed. For one may assume that the old Buddha-Bodhisattva of Mathurā would have also found his way to Amarāvati, had there in his time existed a connection between the city on the banks of the Jumnā and that on the Kistnā.

There is no difficulty whatever in classifying stylistically the type of seated Buddha predominant at Amarāvati. It stands between the work of Sitala Ghati and that of Bodh Gayā. Whereas at Sitala Ghati, just as in the statue of Anyor of the year 129, the garment still covers both shoulders and the cast of the drapery is slightly reminiscent of North-Western prototypes, there is no trace

of it any more in the work of the year 142, the sculptor having turned entirely to the ideals of Mathurā.

Now while the Buddha, so characteristic for Amarāvati, has also stripped off the garment from the right shoulder, the drapery folds recall the sculpture of Sitala Ghati rather than of that of Bodh Gayā. In other words, this type has no longer taken any part in the return to the Mathurā ideals prevalent during the eighties, having left the North prior to that period and wandered out to the South. Plate 128

Nothing has remained at Mathurā of the immediate prototypes, but there is no doubt that similar solutions had been found there between the years A.D. 129 and 142 for the theme of the seated Buddha.

The standing Buddha, too, appears in a costume which can scarcely deny its Northern origin. One type is well known and can be followed up from the standing, bald-headed figure of Mathurā to the Scythian Buddha. The garment is closed at the top, while the raised left hand is pulling up to the shoulder the long hem that is slipping down. Plate 131

By the side of this type emerges another image which was to become of paramount importance for the Buddhistic art of Southern India. It is a Buddha with a bare right side, the heavy hem of the garment thrown over the left forearm from which it falls down full and wide (2).

At the first glance it will perhaps appear as if this latter type, to which South India has clung for centuries and to which Ceylon still continues to cling, had been found in Amarāvati itself; it seems to be nothing else than a transformation of the seated Buddha into a standing one. On the other hand, one cannot fail to discover a certain resemblance with the figure of the standing Buddha-Bodhisattva as it had existed at Mathurā long before the influence of Gandhāra.

The inquiry after the intermediary and connecting link has not been unsuccessful. A Maitreya statue of Mathurā which resumes the connection with the old tradition and is more an ornamented Buddha than a Bodhisattva, exhibits a similar arrangement of the drapery. Thus the Mathurā origin of this standing Buddha has been proved. Plate 88

It can be easily seen that on the reliefs of Amarāvati the various types both of the standing and the seated Buddha exist in perfect harmony side by side, albeit the representations showing the Illuminated One with bare right side predominate.

The phenomenon can be explained only in the following manner. Whereas Amarāvati had taken over these types ready made from Mathurā and knew no difference between one and the other conception because it had received them all from the same hand, matters were different at Mathurā itself which had to defend its own artistic and iconological traditions against innovations. Mathurā had its own definitely-outlined conceptions which it successfully defended. It became the battleground of two different opinions and it is easy to notice that it was the indigenous Indian element which ultimately gained the victory.

If we now recapitulate the results of our inquiry we shall obtain the following picture.

From the middle part of the last century B.C. down to the eighties of the I century A.D. the Buddha was represented in Gandhāra as a beardless youth, with waving, tied-up hair and arrayed in a monk's cowl, covering both shoulders; when the Sublime sat down, the feet were carefully concealed beneath the garment. Under Kanishka, and stimulated by the decided realism which had set in in art under this ruler, a new figure of Buddha appears corresponding to the Scythian ideal of a young man, a figure with broad face and moustache.

Shortly after the accession of Kanishka, Mathurā, out of its own means, followed the example of the sculptors of Gandhāra and represented the Sublime One in human shape. The causes which may have led to this decisive step can hardly be conjectured. If the attempt to interpret the mental driving forces of a foreign nation is already daring enough in itself, the problem becomes an almost insoluble one when nearly two thousand years have elapsed since.

It is possible that the time had become ripe at that period, for the sculptors could look back to a sculptural art extending over two centuries. The desire to master the visible world through art, the craving to rise above the cramped and narrow circumstances, may in the course of time have grown stronger and more powerful. In any case the barriers which had kept art back from the representation of the Sublime One (3) had already lost their power of resistance and were slowly crumbling down, and it required only the slightest outside impulse, such as the news that yonder in the North-West the faithful were erecting statues of the Exalted One, to pull them down entirely.

An exact analysis of the style will leave no doubt that the Buddha representation of Mathurā has nothing to do with the North-West. Besides, the local

combination of Buddha-Bodhisattva, which stands in strict contradiction to the clear distinction made between the two figures in Gandhāra, must dispel the last vestige of suspicion. The Buddha-Bodhisattva prevailed at Mathurā until the year A.D. 117.

Shortly after A.D. 127 the connection between the North-West and Northern India becomes so animated that the art of Gandhāra begins also to exercise an influence over the religious plastic art of Mathurā. The result is an immediate distinction made between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. At first the Illuminated One is represented in the shape in which the river district of the Indus had been accustomed to see him for a century and a half, that is as a youthful figure with tied-up hair and arrayed in a garment thrown over both shoulders. A few years later Mathurā once more collected its strength which the first impact had scattered, and shortly afterwards it openly returned to its old ideals. It was then that appeared that characteristic trait of the Buddha head which was destined to conquer the whole of India and to prevail even in Gandhāra, viz. the spiral, snail-like locks put over the crown of the head and the uṣṇīṣa.

Between A.D. 129 and 142, this type migrated first from Mathurā to the North-West, where it established itself by the side of the old Gandhāra Buddha. This shape, scarcely appreciated at first and clearly treated as an intruder, was nevertheless tolerated afterwards, since it always remained within its modest limits. Soon, however, the new shape wandered out to the South, where it reigned supreme, and it has retained its sway until the present day in Ceylon.

The "Buddha with the serpent king Mucilinda", a type frequent at Amarāvātī and coming from the South of India and conquering Ceylon and the whole interior of India, seems also to have originated at Mathurā. It may possibly have been taken over from the Pantheon of the Jainas.

The result of this inquiry is surprising in many respects. Scholars have grown so accustomed to the idea that Kaniṣka was the great propagator and patron of the art of Gandhāra that the comparatively late date of the North-Western influence upon Mathurā appears at the first glance rather disconcerting. But the testimony borne by the inscriptions is irrefutable, and it will be the task of the historians of religion to draw the necessary conclusions from the facts furnished by the history of art.

One fact, however, seems to be established, namely that during the period

of the great Kuṣānā king the Buddhists of the North-West emphasized the person of the religious founder and, unlike the North-West, did not distinguish between the various phases in the spiritual development of Gautama. Formally this is expressed by the identity of figure, dress and gestures at Mathurā and by a disparity in Gandhāra. The Buddha-Bodhisattva of Mathurā is sharply distinguished from the figures of the Blessed One in the North-West not only in style but also in dogma (4).

NOTES

- 1] This manner of gathering up the dress is always connected with the Scythian Buddha, cf. p. 217, A.S.R., 1909-10, Pl. 20 a-c; A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, No. 77.
- 2] WILLIAM COHN, *Buddhain der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1925, Pl. 20-21. For the words referring to the date: "fourth to fifth century", "close of second century" must be substituted.
- 3] With regard to the elucidation of the "inner readiness" ANANDA COOMARASWAMY deserves particular mention; cf. Art Bulletin, June, 1923, New York. The Pārsvanātha statue from Mathurā in the Lucknow Museum (COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 86).
- 4] The suggestion has already been made by D. B. SPOONER in 1908, who is undoubtedly right (cf. D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhi*, A.S.R., 1907-8, p. 144, note 3).

CONCLUSION

It was only in obedience to the loud call of Aśoka that India could venture to abandon the narrow confines of handicraft and of primitive sculpture, and dare to enter the free regions of great art. Lacking in independence and rather embarrassed, the country required at first the encouraging example set by the highly-developed art of the Western Orient.

The Indian element, deeply rooted in the indigenous soil, was, however, strong enough to maintain itself. Thus there arose an art in which the indigenous element is clearly noticeable, a curious mixture of advanced form and primitive Indian conception.

From the proud peaks upon which the Dīdargañj Yakṣi and the two statues of Patna had maintained themselves, Indian art flowed swiftly downwards and the statue of Pārkhām is a poor production. It was at that time that India tried her own strength on the familiar colossal subject, and the result shows with inexorable clearness that India had attempted to go too far.

Thus at Bārhūt the sculptors started afresh, modest this time and keeping within the bounds of the scanty means at their disposal. There was no longer any round plastic art, for this the sculptors no longer dared to attempt. They required the strong support of a back wall from which the figure was scarcely detached, and from the very start the volume is powerfully expressed by a harsh setting-off of the ground.

The sculptors, however, evidently did not intend to cling persistently to a simple conception of surface. Everywhere one feels the craving to pass beyond the narrow bounds of a rather poor conception. While the cumbrous, unwieldy outlines, the shrill dissonance of line, the powerful constraint of the surface, and the disorganized connection of the masses met for some time with entire approval, comparatively early attempts are noticeable endeavouring to break the trammels of primitiveness. Forces are gathering on fixed points, ready and decided to advance towards the alluring freedom.

The careful observer cannot fail to notice the direction which Indian art is about to take. Curtailments and a movement into the depth make no secret of the anxiety of the sculptors to free themselves from the trammels of an abstract surface. The despotism with which Egypt and Asia Minor endeavoured, during the entire course of their artistic development, to project

every figure upon an ideal surface, did not meet with any approbation in India, and very soon it gave place to a liberal regimen which tried to do justice to natural and real circumstances.

The break with the principle of surface which, looking upon all figures only as decorative elements, employed them for the purpose of filling out the ground, is not accomplished all at once. The old conceptions were too powerful and continued to exercise their sway for a long time, albeit they were compelled to retire step by step before the progressive ideas.

This seeking and groping after the new is noticeable at Bodh Gayā, and the process is entirely concluded at Sānchī. Everything is now different. The line has lost its biting sharpness, the wild outward movements of the extremities have disappeared; they are all gathered together and willingly adapt themselves to the soothing rhythm of the whole. On all sides we find a certain softening and clarification. The contours are now drawn in such a way that while it is easy to follow their direction, they clearly indicate the essential of their contents; the forms most clearly exhibit their separation, while the joints are less obtrusive but nevertheless as effectively accentuated as before. Finally, the structural element is elaborated in such a way that everything else appears beside it as fluctuating and unstable.

The firmness of the structure is transferred from the single figure to the entire relief. Just as a body is conceived as a harmonious plurality of single parts, so a relief appears as a well-arranged whole. It is astonishing how discipline and order are brought into the masses just there where a story with a great display of persons is to be narrated. The period does not try to conceal its predilection for a succession of similar elements and for a symmetrical arrangement, and going even far beyond the preceding period, it forces into these schematic compositions contents which are not at all suited for them. The artist particularly likes to begin with a row at the front edge, thus giving the keynote which dominates all other sounds. This is of course not always possible, and the artist manages it by intersecting obliquely a too high surface, thus creating scenes in which individuals are clearly and distinctly grouped. The advantage thus gained as far as clearness is concerned is considerable.

It is significant, however, that one notices now quite clearly how the single objects stand to each other, what is in front and what is behind. Space as such is not a problem of artistic representation, and the artist endeavours rather to

indicate as clearly as possible the relation of things to each other. It is, however, characteristic of the neatness of the disposition that recourse is only reluctantly taken to a vague approximation.

///The artistic effects which this art is able to obtain from the sure use of contrasts is also wonderful. Be it a question of the contrast of directions, the perpendicular and the horizontal lines face each other in clear themes; the two principal directions prevail always and everywhere and, in the truest sense of the word, everything has firm ground under its feet. Or be it the contrast between repose and movement: when, for instance, the surging multitude of a hostile army is advancing against the solidly constructed bulwark of a town, everywhere the artist gives a clear and distinctly arranged presentment of the problem, whether dealing with individual figures or a mass action. *gmn*

Hedged in by the uniformly constructed frame indispensable for their artistic effect, the reliefs of the advanced period stand in the sharpest contrast to those of the following epoch. Everything which had been appreciated by the former is now abandoned, and what the fathers had gained by laborious struggle the sons and grandsons now deny. They refuse to hear anything of either repose or clearness and openly disregard them.

///The structure must burst its bounds and extend on all sides. To the whirling motion, which fills the entire space upon the small figured historical reliefs, corresponds in the subject of the single figure a constant change of the axis. In vain will one look for the penetrating strength of the straight line; it is everywhere being avoided with steady and determined consistency. Whatever was formerly stable has now become fluctuating, so that ultimately all forms are surging in confusion like the seething foam of breakers. *gmn*

///The result is the most ridiculous disarrangement of the silhouette, because all life has been drawn away from the edges into the interior. The contour is no longer the bearer of the phenomenon, the changing play of light and shade fluttering round the forms draws all attention upon itself. The means of expression have increased extraordinarily, and the artist reproduces the soft and tender foliage, the fine plumage of the bird, the gleaming flesh of the feminine body. The most flitting charm of the surface is elicited from the brittle material. *gmn*

///The word illusionism offers itself, and indeed it is a question of such. Even the tendency towards an illusionist representation of space is met with. From all sides art is striving after one goal, namely that of retaining and recording, *gmn*

as faithfully as possible upon stone, the ever changing movement of the world.

The change in the means of representation from a confused and scattered to a collected and regulated style and thence to free and dissolved forms, as it was effected from Bārhūt to Amarāvati, was not to remain a unique and special case for India. The movement repeats itself several times during the course of its artistic march, naturally with entirely changed bases and with slight variations of measure, until rigidity finally steps in, to which every tropical art is to all appearance destined to fall a victim.

The inner law of such a development of style can no longer be denied to-day. And when moreover the same phenomenon repeats itself in the history of Chinese and Japanese art, it becomes evident that we are in the presence of a law of development to which, in normal circumstances, every visual perception is subjected. It is of course a different question whether it has always and everywhere been effective in the same manner. It will not be difficult to observe that whereas some nations stopped at the very start, others proceeded further, half-way down the path. Whereas several dropped down exhausted, others, carried along by friends or foes, wandered along for a while but suddenly turned round and became anxious to return to primitive circumstances. Only a few found conditions favourable for development of their forces, but even then the development is not effected uniformly and with equal speed, the harmony existing only in the direction. There is a considerable disparity in the means and methods, at least in proportion to the difference in spirit and body existing between the nations and races who are availing themselves of these means.

The objection raised that the establishment and acknowledgment of such a law will bring all artistic productions under one denominator is neither well weighed nor sound. While all plants are subject to the law of growth, each species nevertheless exists for itself, and every plant may even be considered as a unit existing for itself. Thus also the law of development will cause no prejudice to the peculiarity of a national art. Indian plastic art is not less distinguished from Chinese sculpture, because a certain conditionality in their respective possibilities of development has been acknowledged.

However much may have been gained by the establishment of the fact that the elements of representation of early Indian plastic art developed in accord-

ance with immanent laws, the spiritual tenor of this art has not yet been explained. Just because the phenomenon of the change of style is repeating itself several times, it is necessary to point out the solitary permanent trait of early Indian sculpture, and to designate the spiritual attitude standing behind it which has decisively contributed to its formation.

It is particularly those who have thoroughly studied the history of Indian art who will find it extraordinary when they notice how ancient India began by avoiding ideals which it shortly afterwards adopted, and then clung to them until the present day. The programme of a regardless negligence of all norms of nature, as it was announced by the lion-crowned capital of Sārnāth, seems at first to have been put aside. There seems to be little inclination to overstep the boundaries of actuality, and one is, on the contrary, very anxious about all that exists. The artist has his hands full in his endeavour to master the impressions furnished by the laughing world. An illusion is impossible: the world is conceived as laughing, and life as worth living. This art is religious only in name, showing an irresistible inclination for the profane. Wherever possible—and this is almost always the case—it escapes the enclosures of faith and moves about in open nature; it is everywhere at home, in fields and in woods, in the hermit's hut as in the prince's palace, upon the battlefields as in the woman's apartments. //

Never was India so worldly disposed as it was in this period. In vain will one search in contemporary literature for similar unmistakable proofs of a disposition so unreservedly addicted to everything terrestrial; and it is once more to fine art that we are indebted for the clearest and most definite information.

No doubt the same means were not always at the disposal of the artist, enabling him to illustrate the joy taken in life. During the first period the artists were compelled to gather all their forces so as to make themselves at all understood, and there could be no question of modifying the expression of their joy in life. Anxious, however, to express this pleasure clearly, they had recourse to devices which left nothing to be desired as far as their unequivocal nature was concerned.

In the latter half of the last century B.C. the instrument is tuned ready to announce to the world the Song of Songs. Sustained and sober is the melody, both simple and proud. Such human, noble and pure tunes as resounded at Kārli have never again been listened to in India.

Later on the tune becomes freer and more unrestrained. By the side of notes of most tender sentiments there are outbursts of the wildest passion. The pleasure taken in life increases and ascends until it reaches a degree of fury, and the artist never tires of representing the doings at the princely courts, where he recognizes the finest blossom of human existence. The heavily laden atmosphere of palaces where everything is luxurious and sensual, where the individual is constantly under the menace of disgrace and at the mercy of the capricious will of the ruler, lures the artist more than does the simple existence of the worthy and honest folks dwelling in woods and villages.

Love of life and joy in existence, such is the keynote of this art, and it is clearly exhibited in its productions. There are no rigid figures upon which is wafted the icy wind of abstract speculation, but warm fresh bodies in beautiful unrestraint, unconditional submission to the natural prototype being required from the sculptor.

Never, in the course of the succeeding centuries, has the human body been conceived as a growth, as an organically constituted unit, as something living, as it was at Sānchī, Kārī, Mathurā and Amarāvati. No doubt, according to the period, the stress was laid either upon the proud or satiated repose or upon graceful and supple activity, but always the artist kept within the bounds of naturalness.

This must not be understood to mean that the artist was realistic. On the contrary, he raised everything into the sphere of youth and grace, and it must be understood that he had recourse to the Indian ideals of handsome men and beautiful women. The full bosom, the narrow waist over the broad pelvis, the thick thighs of the women, the broad shoulders, the mighty chests and the tense abdomen of the male figures, asserted themselves for nearly two thousand years in Indian plastic art. And yet, no other period knew so well how to bring ideal and actual so close together that the one blended with the other.

This art is anxious to express as faithfully as possible the optical impressions which it has received from nature; it goes through the world with senses wide awake, trying to understand it in its entirety. This striving is most clearly expressed in the constant endeavour to illustrate the spacial situation of the objects. It is mostly in the narrative reliefs that it is shown how the spacial conception is gradually maturing, how at Amarāvati the idea of free space finally appears which can be read in the objects.

The illusionism, announcing itself in some representations of rooms and in the well-known scenes in the open, is the prize laboriously gained by an endeavour extending over several centuries. It is of the greatest significance that during the further march of Indian plastic art nothing comparable will be met again.

Suppose now that this manner of representing space was not at all the result of Indian conceptions but was brought in from the outside? The rich finds of Roman coins in Southern India, where precisely the appearance of the smallest coins made one think of Roman settlements which must have existed from the beginning of the I to the close of the IV century (1), could point to Western influence in the reliefs of Amarāvati, especially since towards the end of the II century the art of Rome had set out on similar paths.

Just because the proofs are offering themselves so readily and abundantly, one has to be very circumspect. The times are past when for no reason whatever the Occidental and the Asiatic were identified as soon as there was any superficial resemblance between them, and an Occidental influence was constructed. Even the acknowledgment that a parallel development of visual perception has often led to analogous formations must call forth a distrust in such hypotheses. Besides, it has been admitted that a foreign influence could not take effect so simply. One usually adopts what is useful and is understood, and even then the foreign elements are remodelled in such a way that the original sense is lost, a new one taking its place.

Now it is very questionable whether the Roman art of the Imperial period had come over to Southern India with the merchants. The art under Trajan (A.D. 98-117), of which one may be tempted to think, exhibits such a fundamentally different character that the possibility of its influence upon Amarāvati cannot be seriously taken into consideration. It is rather the Marcus column which reminds us of India, but more of the art of Sānchī than of that of Amarāvati. Now the Marcus column was completed in A.D. 193 and the similar manner of perception, met with at Sānchī, preceded the Roman art by fully two centuries (1).

The fact alone that all that appears at Amarāvati had already had its prototype at Sānchī refutes the theory of a Roman influence. It would perhaps be more correct to say that Roman and Indian plastic art had independently reached the same point of perceptual representation, with the significant

difference, however, that what in Rome meant a retrogressive movement represents at Amarāvati the end of a long development.

Having now stated all that separates the early sculpture from the later plastic art of India, we shall in conclusion attempt to enumerate the points which they have in common, for both are after all the productions of the same soil and of the same genius.

We have stated above that it is the capacity to conceive the body as something organically grown, as a totality, which distinguishes the early Indian art from that of later centuries; but we must add that from the very start this capacity was hedged in by certain bounds which it was unable to overstep. However much a female figure either from Mathurā or from Amarāvati seems to be copied from life in its momentary motion, it is only so when we come back from the later art of India. As soon, however, as we call up a Greek work for comparison, the Indian figure immediately joins its younger compatriots, for then the typically Indian element becomes manifest.

We have repeatedly called attention to the idea that the human body is a more or less close union of definite parts, and also to the fact that the body was above all interpreted from mechanical and functional points of view, whence come the sharp accentuation of the joints and the bending of the body in its angles. No doubt every period made a different use of this; but this does not exclude the fact that these peculiarities could maintain themselves for two thousand years.

It is above all through their proportions that gods and men of the earlier time made themselves known as Hindus. The Indian conception of form which had very early created definite ideal types of men and women has always remained effective. Whether the figures are big or small, slim or stumpy, elegant or rather rustic, the separate parts are always placed in a fixed relationship, manifesting an unmistakable feeling of extreme tension. That typically Indian conception of the value of expression of certain proportions which was destined to become later on a rigid iconometry, is already effective, albeit subconsciously. It is not less alive in the artist in the earlier times than it is from the seventh century onwards when a fixed canon with an exact indication of numbers took the place of a merely perceptively recognized ideal.

In order to understand all this one must keep in view the Indian conception of the essence and aim of art, as it is more particularly manifested in the later

plastic art. For the Hindu the task of art is not that of entering into a contest with life, much less that of enhancing nature. The task of art is rather that of picking out the underlying reality of every appearance, stripped of all non-essentials which the various forms of being carry within themselves. Only thus can the deep and real essence of things be made manifest. *John*

It is obvious that such a conception, which can be fully understood only from the mental standpoint of the Hindu, was bound to lead to a complete fixation of type and finally to lose all contact with life. And although this conception has not the same unconditional value as far as the early period is concerned, its latent power can already be felt beneath the surface.

This clinging to an ideal type of the handsome man and of the beautiful woman, this adherence to themes fixed once for all, points in this direction. Granted even that during the early period a certain freedom was still preserved in such motifs as those of the woman under the tree or of the goddess of fortune, it is nevertheless significant that the types already existed and were universally acknowledged.

The motley throng, too, of the single figures upon the reliefs of Sānchī and Amarāvātī can only be rightly understood if we compare them with later productions. The explanation that we have to deal here with a certain primitiveness of conception which has remained latently effective will help us but little. There is at work an immense craving for expression which is precisely what so profoundly distinguishes the Indian character from all the productions of the West and Asia Minor. *John*

It is just the relation of plastic art to architecture, considered from this angle of vision, which is so instructive. From the very start there existed the desire to subject the structure to sculpture. With regard to Bārḥūt we can scarcely make any binding assertions to-day; in any case, the inner side of the railing is covered with rich relief ornamentations. The gates of the great stūpa of Sānchī are covered all over with plastic work, and even the intermediate spaces are filled out with sculptures. It is only the mighty craving for discipline and order, characteristic of the period, which could master the throng of figures. Architecture and plastic art counterbalance each other, both in a state of armed peace. During the later period the victory of sculpture is complete. If we may trust the representations on the stūpas of Amarāvātī, the chisel has mastered the whole surface and thrown a glittering *John*

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net over the entire structure. No eye can follow this whirl of figure and shape. Carried along by the shimmering filigree of railings and walls, it finds no rest even in the ether where myriads of spirits and demons are busy at work. Here the Indian spirit, that wonderful mixture of titanic fantasy and of pedantic pettiness, has erected a monument to its eternal and tormenting restlessness.

NOTES

- 1] VINCENT A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, p. 337.
- 2] Cf. SPRINGER-WOLTERS, *Die Kunst des Altertums*, 12th ed., p. 532, Reprod. 1007.

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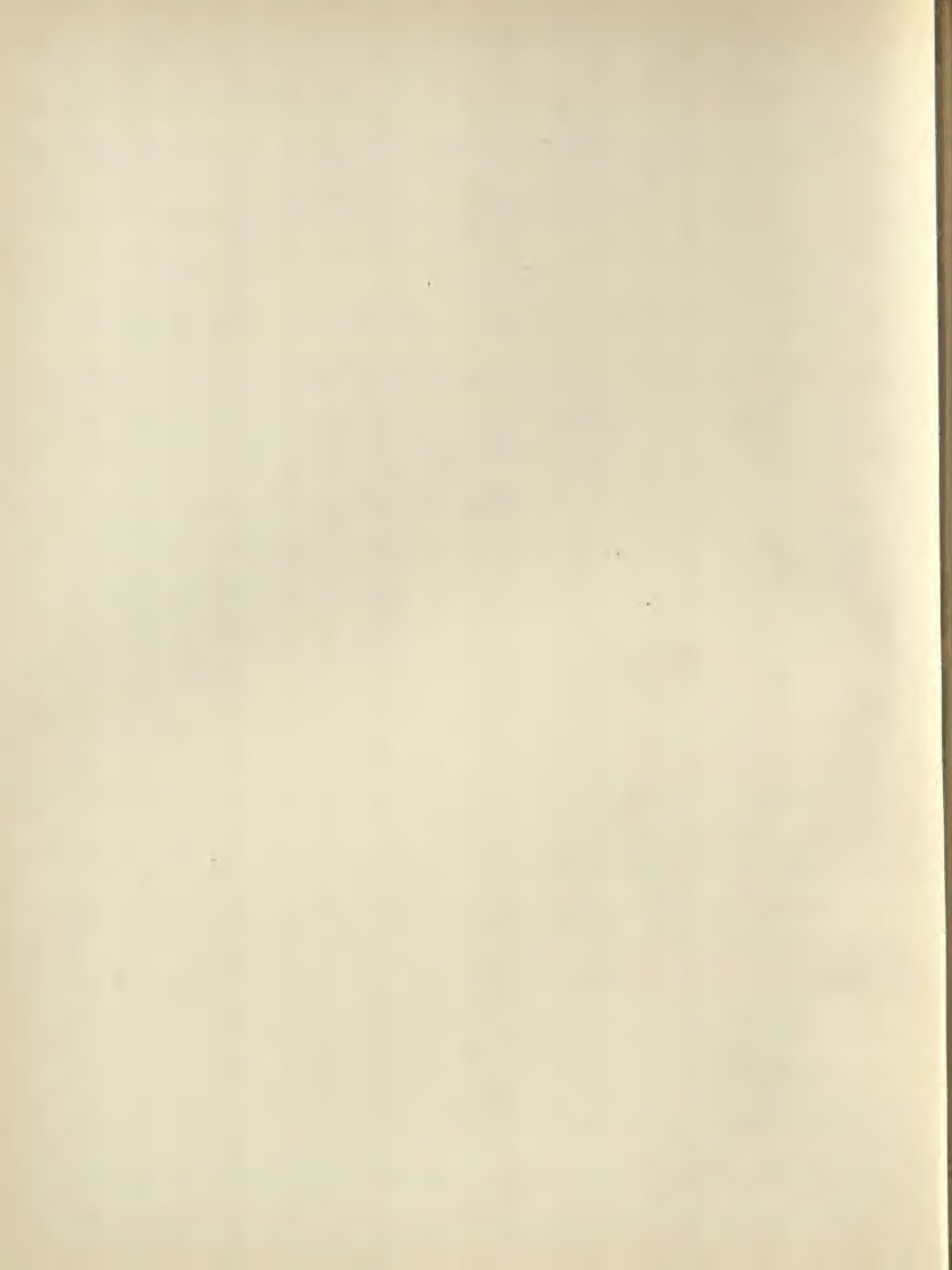
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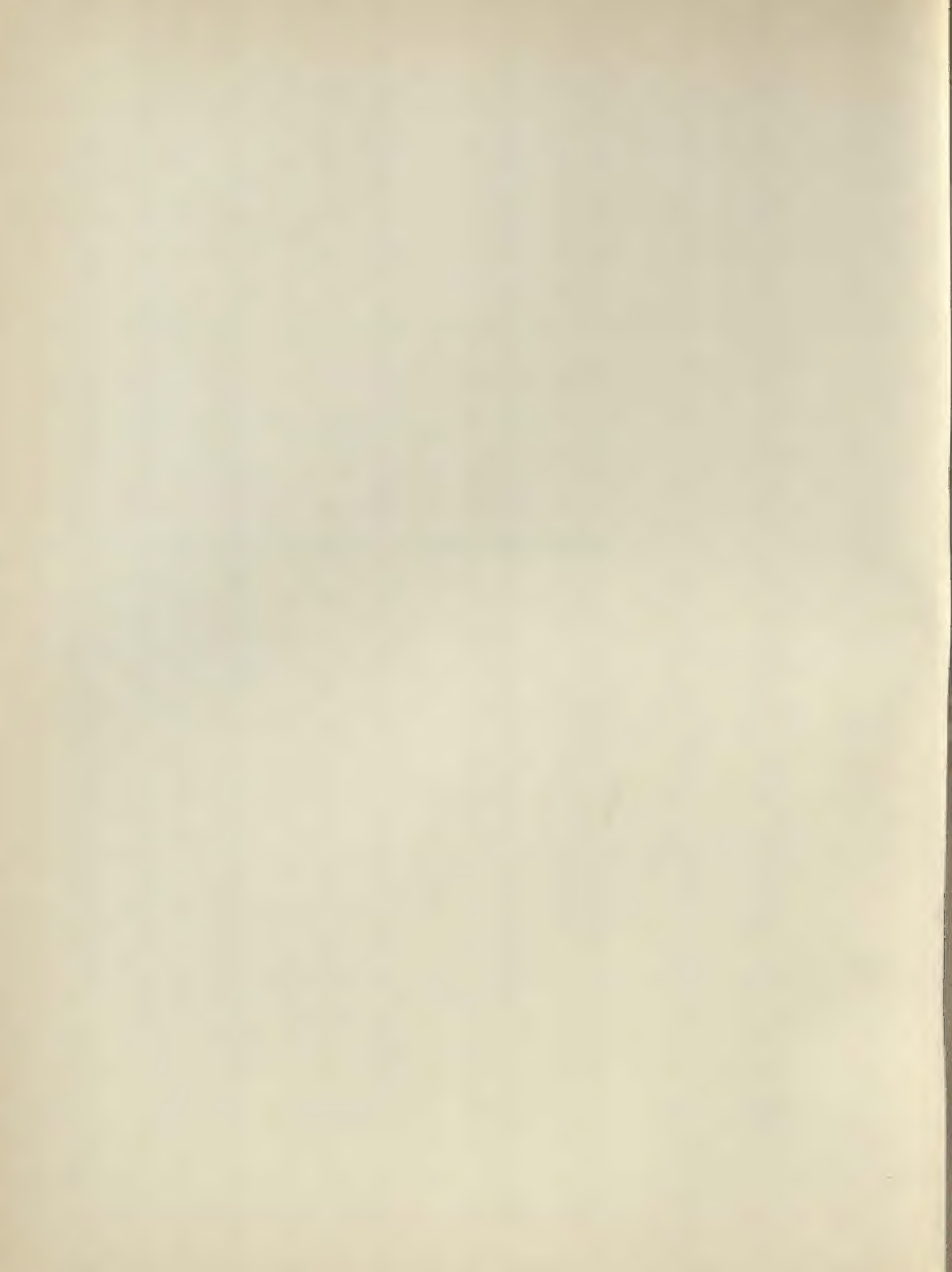
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PLATES 1-62



I

ELEPHANT OF DHAULI (ORISSA)

Rock sculpture.

258-257 B.C.

On the rock are the edicts of Asoka in the version destined for Kalinga.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.







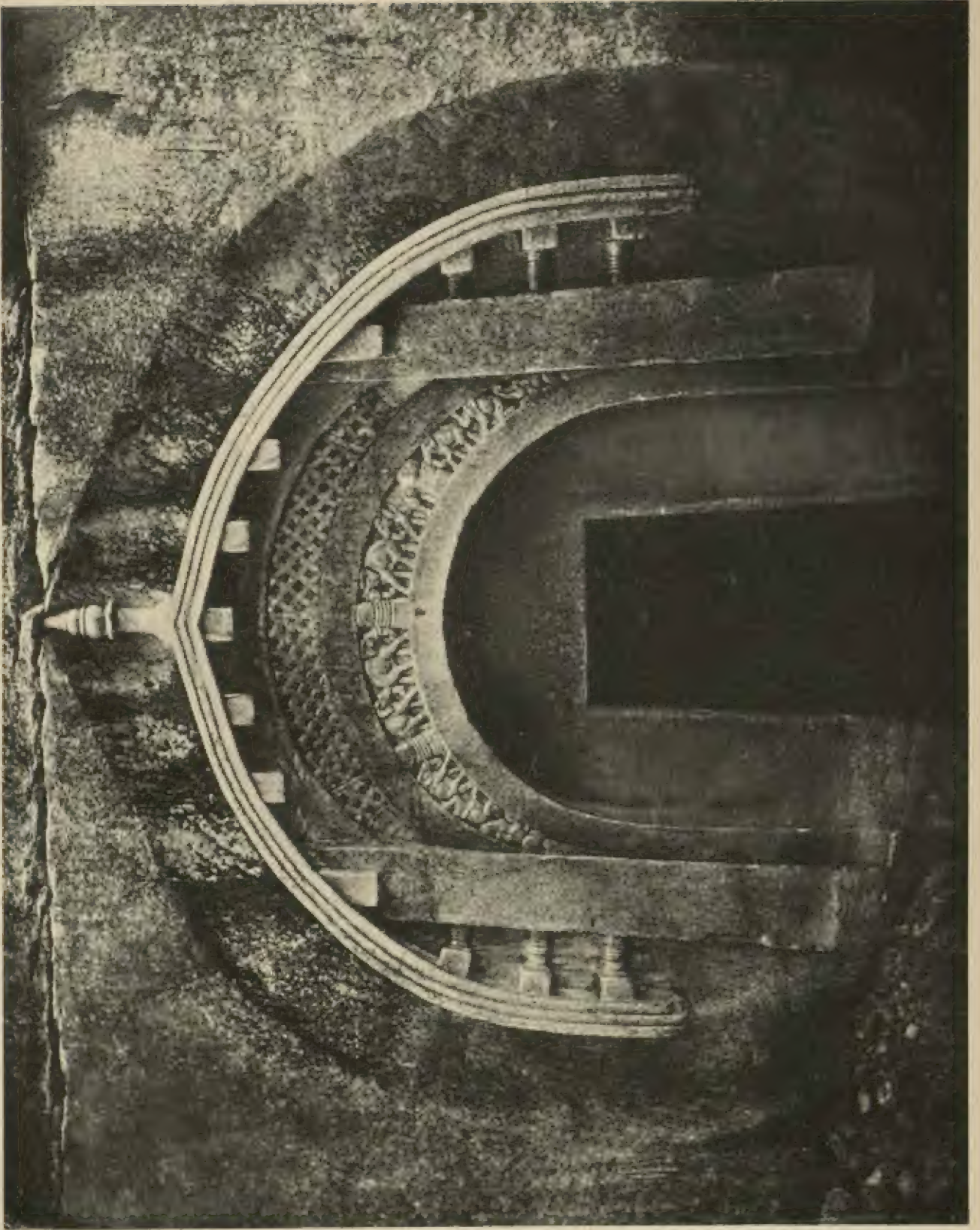
2

LOMAS RISHI CAVE, NEAR BODH GAYĀ

LATTER HALF OF THE III CENTURY.

One of the most ancient rock caves in India. The front is the exact transference of a wooden construction into stone.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.





3

THE LION-CROWNED COLUMN OF BĀSARH

SHORTLY BEFORE 244 B.C.

The form is somewhat clumsy and the square plinth, too, points to the fact that the column was erected before that of Rāmpurvā, dated in the year 244 B.C.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.







4

LION-CROWNED COLUMN OF LAURIYĀ NANDANGARH

243 B.C.

The body of the animal, in comparison to that of Bāsah, is much more tense and tight.

Height: c. 12 m.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.





5

SÄRNĀTH

Lion-crowned Capital of the Aśoka Column.

242-236 B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

The lions originally carried the wheel of the Law, as in the representation in the upper panel of the right jamb on Plate 55.

Height: 2.10 m.

Museum, Sarnāth.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.







6

SĀRNĀTH

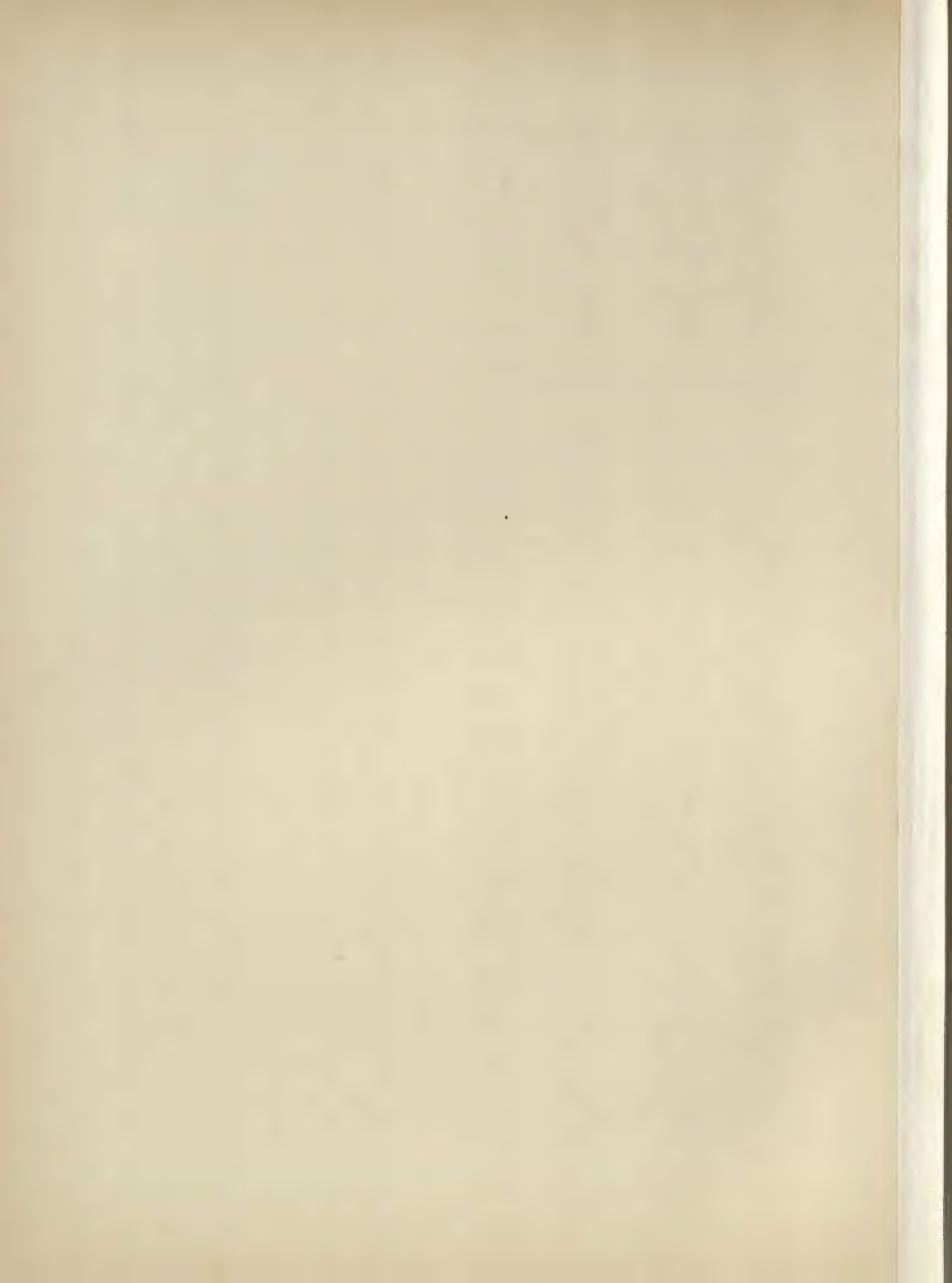
Lion-crowned Capital of the Aśoka Column.

242-236 B.C.

Zebu and Elephant from the Plinth of the Capital.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.





7

RĀMPURVĀ

Bull-crowned Capital of the Southern Aśoka Column.

c. 243 B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Lion-crowned Capital of the Northern Aśoka Column.

244 B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.







SANCHI

Lion-crowned Capital of the Aśoka Column.

The increasing schematization in the treatment of the hair presupposes the fact that it was erected after the Sarnāth capital.

Museum, Sanchi.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.

SANKISA

Elephant-crowned Capital of the Aśoka Column.

257-244 B.C.

With its plump shape the animal recalls the elephant of Dhauli. The primitive decoration of the plinths, which are framed only at the lower border, also points to an earlier date.





9

YAKṢI FROM DĪDARGAÑJ

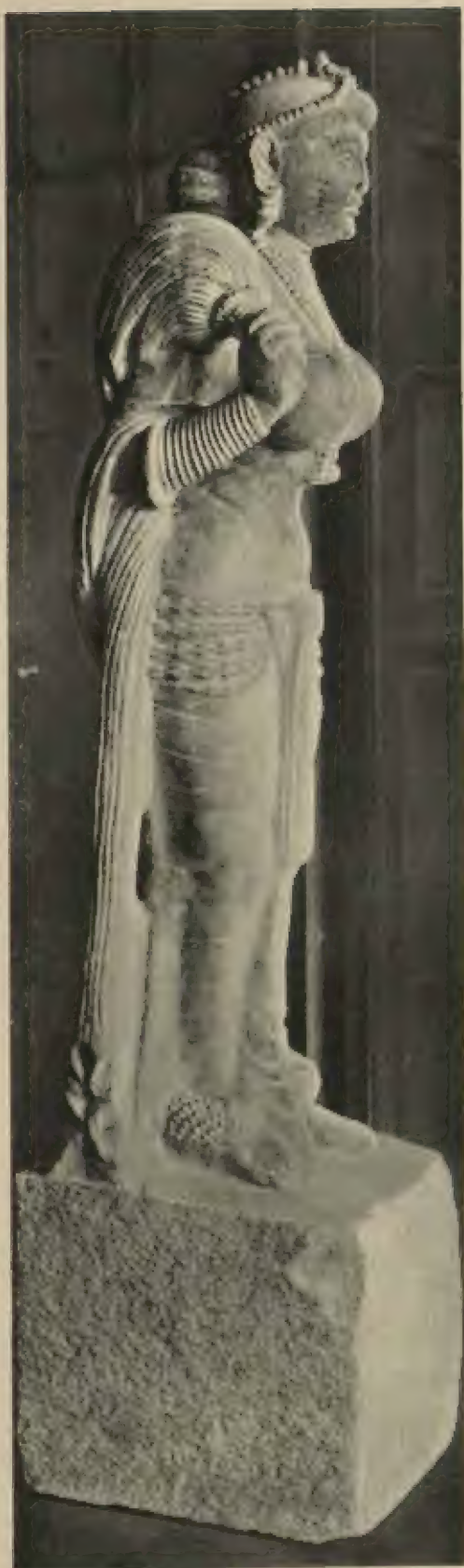
SECOND THIRD OF THE III CENTURY B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

Life size.

Museum, Patna.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





IO

PATNA

Two Yakṣa.

SECOND THIRD OF THE III CENTURY B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

In the figure to the right the Tassel ends and the Feet are a later addition.

Height: figure to the left, 1.62 m.; figure to the right, 1.83 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.

01





I I

MATHURĀ

Pārkham Yakṣa.

END OF THE III CENTURY B.C.

According to Vogel's interpretation the inscription says that the statue had been made by Bhadaṣṭhagiri . . .
Gomata, a disciple of Kunika (*Cat. Arch. Mus.*, Mathurā, p. 83, C.1).

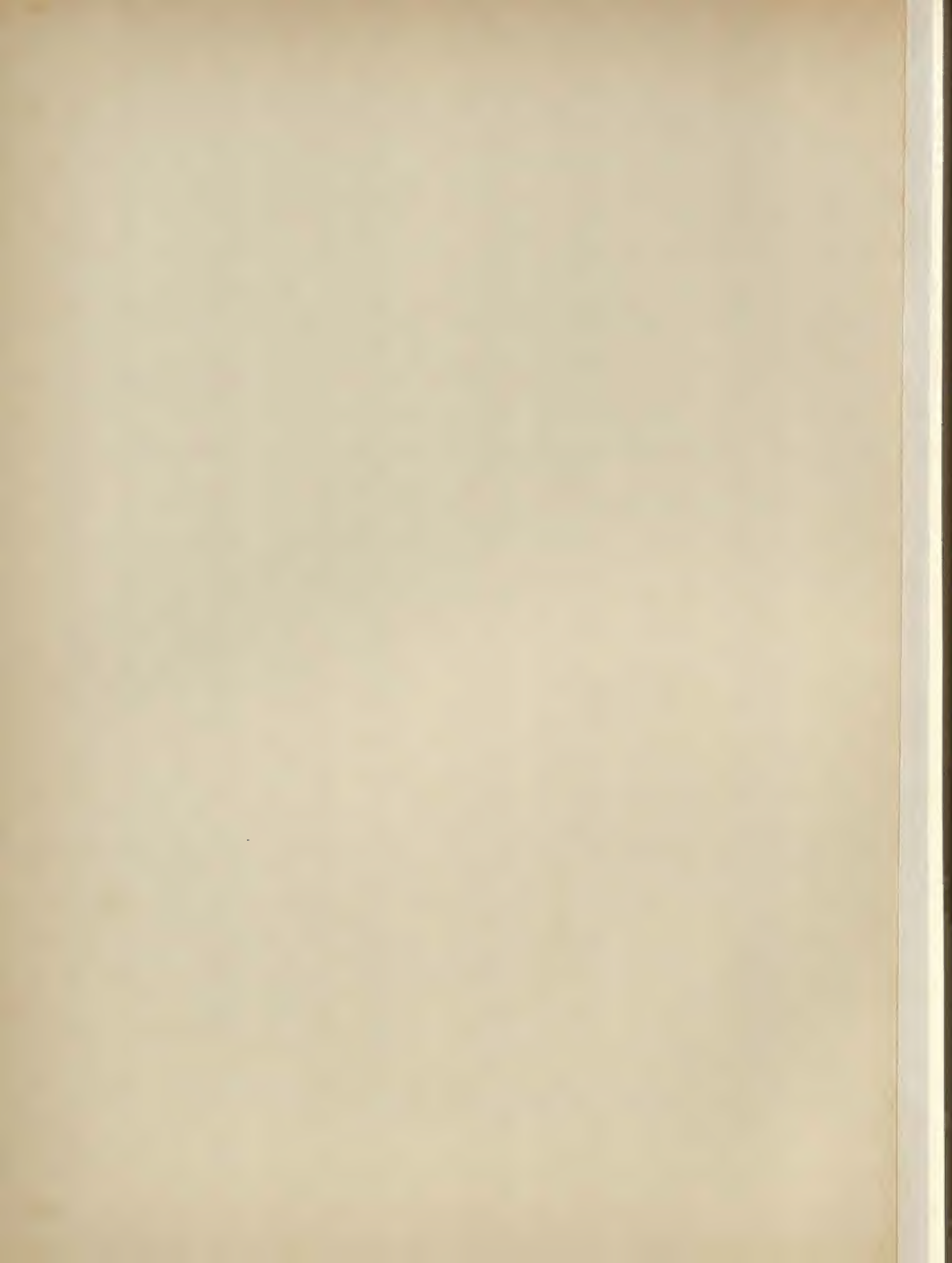
Height: 2.62 m.

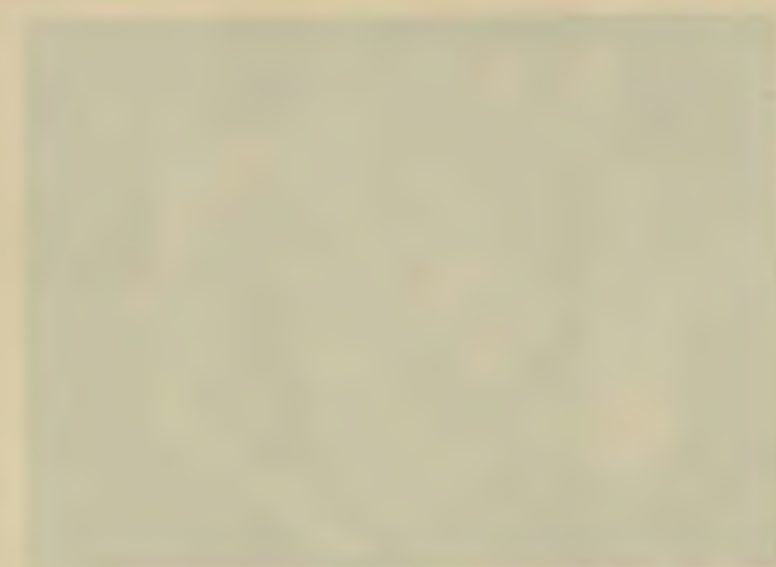
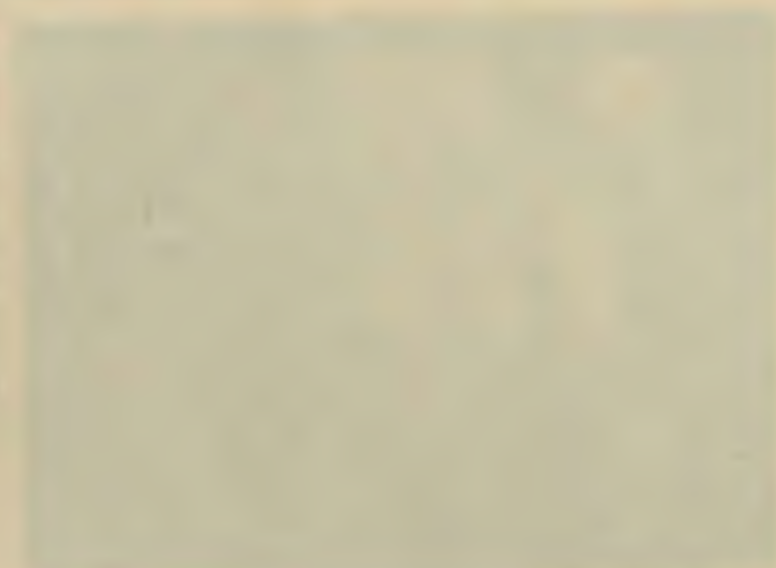
Museum, Mathurā.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.

I I







I 2

SĀRNĀTH

Two Male Heads.

LATTER HALF OF THE III CENTURY B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

Height: 0.20 m. and 0.14 m.

Museum, Sārnāth.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.







13

One from Sarnath

One
Top: TWO TERRA-COTTA HEADS FROM BĀSARH
LATTER HALF OF THE III CENTURY B.C.

Height: 0.035 m.-0.045 m.

Bottom: THREE FRAGMENTS FROM SĀRNĀTH

LATTER HALF OF THE III CENTURY B.C.

Polished Chunar Sandstone.

Height: c. 0.15 m.-0.25 m.

Museum, Sarnath.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.

81





I4

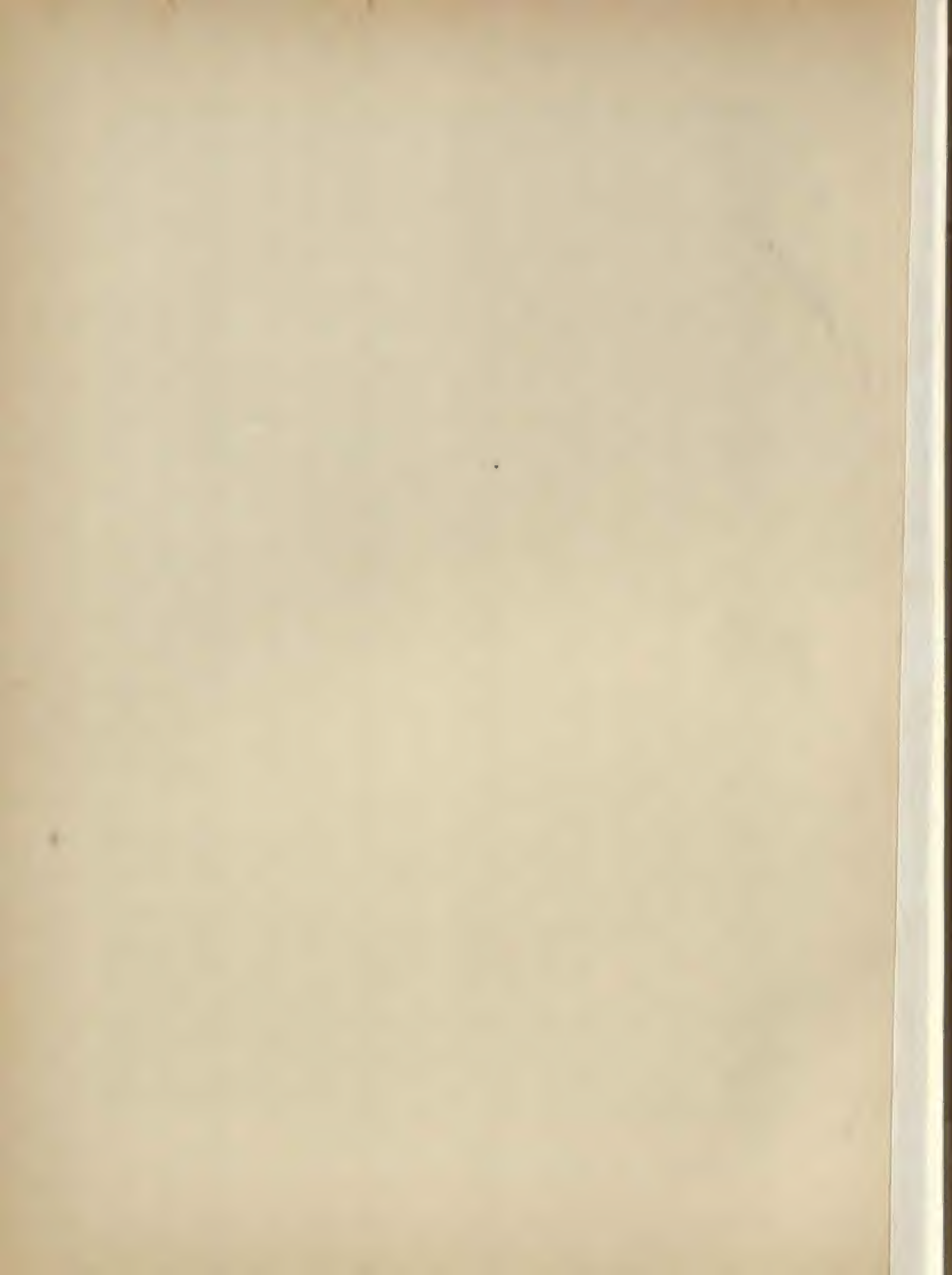
GARUDA COLUMN FROM BESNAGAR

c. 100-90 B.C.

Height: c. 6.50 m.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.







15

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

Reconstruction of Eastern Gate and adjoining Railing.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Observe the inorganic juxtaposition of gate and fence.

Height of railing: 2.14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.







16

STÜPA OF BĀRHÖT

Eastern Gate. Outside View of Left Jamb.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

The fence was evidently raised above the gates, as in the great stūpa of Sānchi, and then again broken up in the right corner.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





I 7

STÜPA OF BÄRHÜT

Inner Side of Eastern Gate.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





18

STÜPA OF BÄRHÜT
Southern Corner Jamb.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Left: Chakavaka Nagaraja.

Right: Gangita Yakṣa.

Height: c. 2.14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





19

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Northern Corner Jamb.

Left: Kuvera Yakṣa.

Right: Sudarsana Yakṣi.

Height: c. 2·14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





20

STÜPA OF BÄRHÜT

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Left: Chulakoka Devata.

Right: Suchiloma Yakṣa.

Height: c. 2.14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





(5)

2 I

Left: POST FROM BATANMARA

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Right: STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

Sirima Devata.

Height: c. 2·14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





22

STÜPA OF BÄRHÜT

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Left: Warrior.

Right: Female Flag-bearer.

Height: c. 2.14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





STÜPA OF BĀRHŪT

Prasenajit-post of the Southern Gate.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Left: Outside. King Prasenajit of Kosala visits the Buddha in the Jetavana cloister. The pattern of the hedge which usually separates the different panels is here included in the representation. *Middle:* History of the Nāga King Erapata. Since time immemorial it had been the wish of Erapata to abjure a sinful life and to lead a holy one. Once he met a Yakṣa at the Court of the Nāga King Sagara who told him of an inscription which could only be read after the birth of a Buddha and interpreted by the latter. Thereupon the two Nāga princes took a girl of extraordinary beauty and some rich presents, and placing themselves at a frequented spot on the Ganges, offered the girl and the presents to one who would interpret the inscription, for it could then be read. At that time there lived the Brahman Narada, who feared to lose his reputation as a sage if he failed to interpret the inscription. He himself received instruction from Buddha, who was at that time dwelling in the park of stags of Benares. When he later on gave the explanation to the two Nāgas, he bared his right shoulder and bowed in the direction where the Buddha was dwelling; the girl and the presents he refused. Erapata, however, was more interested to find the Buddha than to obtain the explanation of the inscription. He therefore betook himself to the Sublime One, first in the shape of a gigantic serpent and then in that of a young Manava, and worshipped him. (Cf. S. Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Buddha*, London, 1872, pp. 276 ff.) *Bottom:* According to the inscription the fig-tree Bahuhastika upon the Mountain Nadodha Bahuhastika = bahavo hastino yatra sah, "where many elephants dwelt". (Cf. Hultzsch, Z.D.M.G. 1886, No. 86.) Over the remains of two human figures, Sisupala the Kodya, and Vedhuka the Gardener.

Middle: Inner Side. *Top:* The Enlightenment (cf. p. 24). *Middle:* According to the inscription the Sudhavaśa Gods in the Eastern quarter of heaven are here represented. (Cf. Hultzsch, *l.c.*, No. 47.) *Bottom:* Dance of the Apsaras. "The music of the gods delighting by sport and dance." The names of the four heavenly dancers: Mitrakesi, Subhadra, Padmavati and Alambusa, are engraved by the side of their figures. (Cf. Hultzsch, *l.c.* No. 50.)

Right: Edge. *Top:* Adoration of a Stūpa. Here a four-panelled, lion-crowned capital without the wheel of the Law appears. *Middle and Bottom:* Couple of Founders.

Height: c. 2.14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.







24

Left: CORNER JAMB OF NORTHERN GATE

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Vidhura Purnaka Jātaka (cf. p. 25).

Right: CORNER JAMB OF WESTERN GATE, "AJATAŚATRU JAMB"

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: The Worship of the Hairlock of the Sublime One in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. According to the inscription, "Sudharma, the hall where the gods forgather." (Cf. Hultzsch, *l.c.*, No. 78.) When Gautama abdicated worldly life he cut off his hair and threw it into the air. Indra caught it up and brought it into the heaven of the thirty-three gods, of which he was the ruler.

Middle: According to the inscription, The Annunciation. "The angel Arhadgupta descends from heaven and announces to the great assembly the imminence of the conception of the Sublime." (Cf. Hultzsch, *l.c.*, No. 80.) "If, after one thousand years, an omniscient Buddha is to be born in the world, then the angels, who guard the world, wander about and loudly proclaim: 'Ye men, after the lapse of one thousand years, counted from now, a Buddha will be born to the world.'" (Cf. *The Jātaka*, ed. Cowell, Vol. I, p. 48.)

Bottom: Ajatasatru Visits the Sublime One. Ajatasatru, the son of King Bimbisara, had been persuaded by Devadatta, a cousin of Gautama, to commit the sin of parricide. As nothing could deliver him of his remorse, he decided to visit the Buddha; the sage Jivaka and his guard of amazons accompanied him. When he arrived in the vicinity of the Sublime, he alighted from his elephant and enquired of Jivaka who of the many monks was the Buddha, although he had recognized the latter at the first glance. When Ajatasatru stood before the Sublime he recognized his greatness and bowed before him.

Height: c. 2.14 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





25

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

Stone Hedge. Fragments of Beams.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: Outside.

Bottom: Inner Side. The scenes have not yet been interpreted.

Height: 0.43 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

Stone Hedge. Parts of Beams. Inner Side.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: Dabbhapuppha Jātaka (Jātaka 400). In one of his former existences the Bodhisattva was the spirit of a tree standing on the banks of the Ganges. A couple of jackals were living near by. One day, the female desiring fresh fish, the male went out in search of it. On the way he was invited by two otters to act as arbitrator because they could not agree as to the distribution of a fish they had caught. The jackal gave the head of the fish to the one and the tail to the other, keeping the best middle piece for himself as fee for his trouble. The scene to the right has not yet been interpreted.

Bottom: *Left:* Bhisa Jātaka (Jātaka 448). During one of his former existences the Bodhisattva had retired to the Himalaya in company of his six brothers and one sister, after having distributed his immense inheritance. Each of the brothers had in turn to provide food. Gathering fruit and lotus stalks, he divided it into portions and placed them on a certain spot where everyone could fetch his own portion whenever he pleased. Sakka, who wished to test the Bodhisattva, took away his portion during three days. The Bodhisattva summoned his brothers and sister so as to obtain an explanation. An ape and an elephant who were dwelling near by also came. When all had protested their innocence, Sakka appeared and returned the lotus stalks he had stolen.

The scene to the right has not yet been interpreted. The inscription says: Vedhuka milks "Katha", on the mountain, Nadodha (cf. Liders' list, Ep. Ind. X, No. 707).

Height: 0.43 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT
Stone Hedge. Fragments of Beams.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: The scene to the left has not yet been interpreted; to the right, Dubhiya Makhala Jataka (Jataka 174). In a certain street there was a well where the passers-by were in the habit of drawing water for the animals living in the neighbourhood. When after a long time the Bodhisattva was first to pass, he gave drink to an ape who was sitting near the well tortured by thirst. The animal proved very ungrateful, and trying at first to frighten the Bodhisattva by his grimaces, ultimately soiled him.

Bottom: The scenes at the bottom which have not yet been interpreted no doubt represent various episodes of the same story, because the usual separations of the representations by means of fantastic plant decorations are missing.

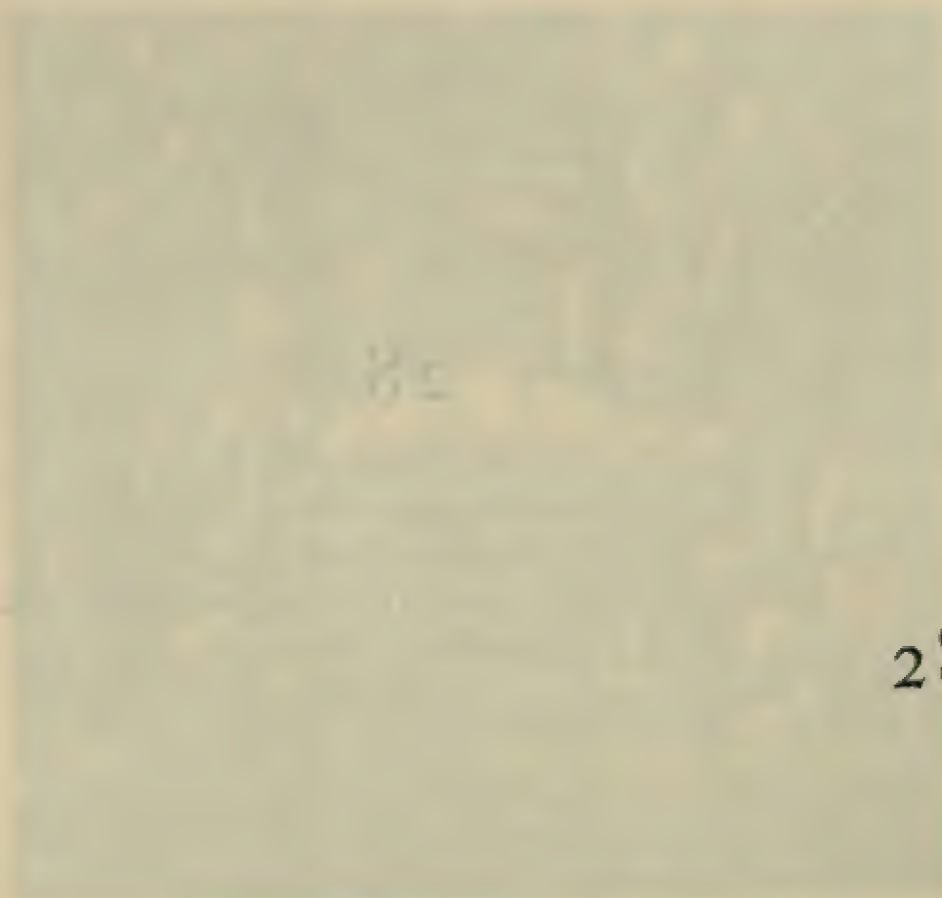
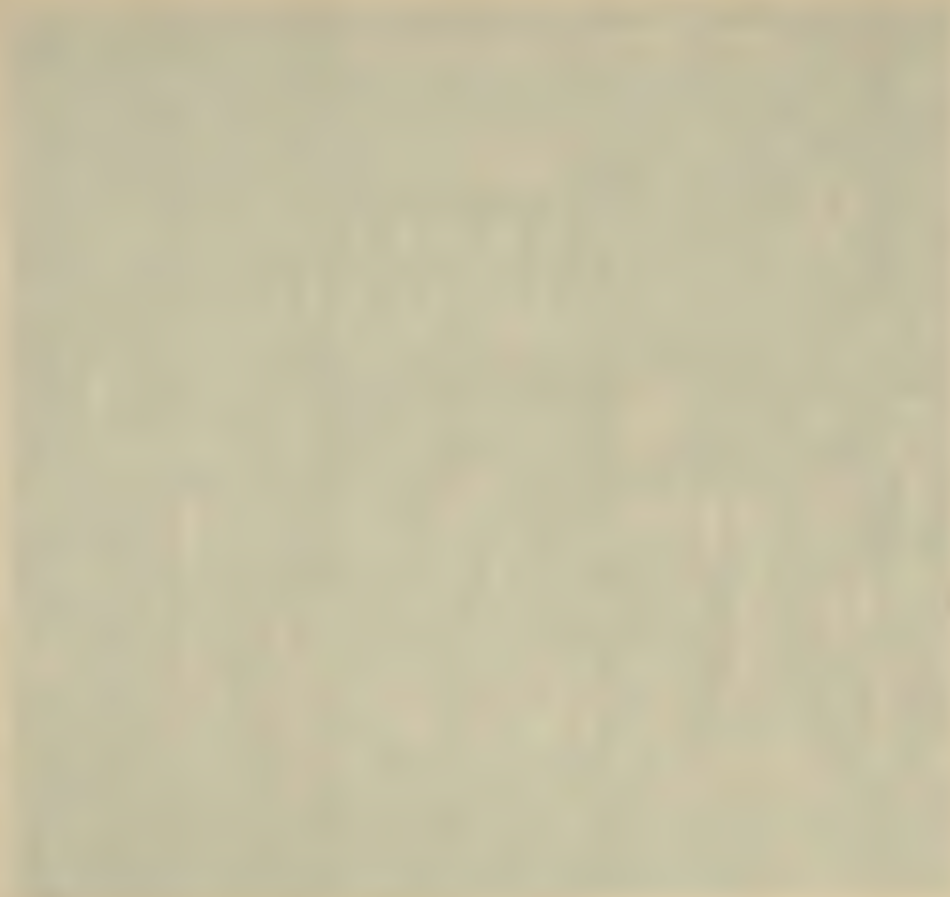
Height: 0.43 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.







28

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Two Relief Plinths.

The Adoration of the Buddha, symbolized by the wheel of the Law and a Stūpa.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.

82







29

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

Stone Hedge. Three Tondi from the Rafter and a Scene from the Beams.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: Left: Female Bust. Right: Śaddanta Jātaka (cf. p. 42).

Bottom: Left: Kurugamiga Jātaka (Jātaka 206). An antelope, a tortoise and a woodpecker were living in close friendship. One day the antelope found itself in a trap. The tortoise had just begun to gnaw through the meshes when the hunter approached; but the woodpecker, who was considered as a bird of ill omen, blocked his way until the liberation had been completed.

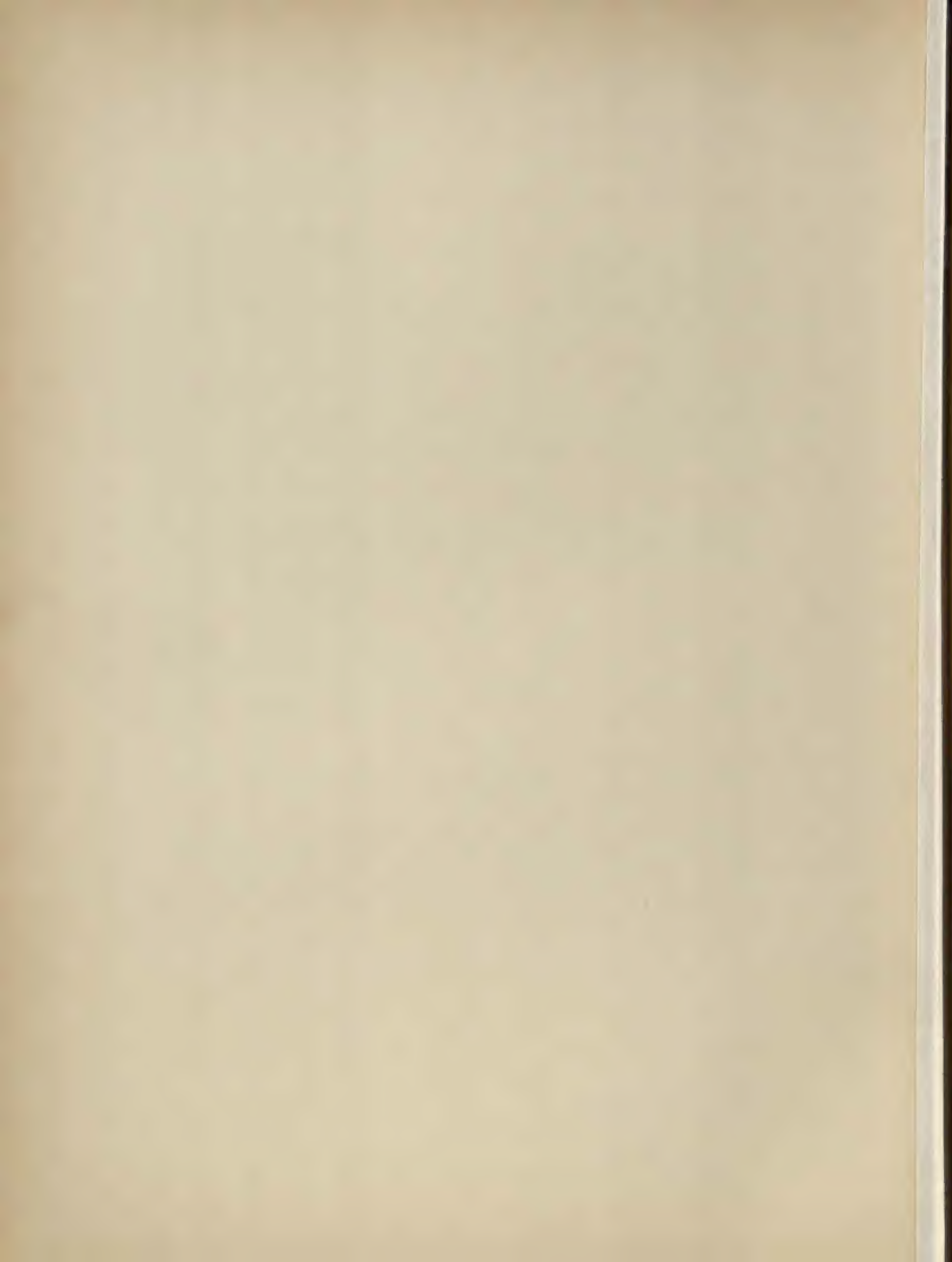
Bottom: Right: Mahabodhi Jātaka (Jātaka 528). An ascetic, having gained the favour of a king, rose to a high position. This aroused the envy of his colleagues, who planned his death. Warned by a dog, he packed up his belongings with the intention of going away. The royal pair approach and the sage succeeds in establishing the infamy of his enemies.

Height of the Tondi: 0.49 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





39

30

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT
Four Tondi of the Stone Hedge.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: Left: Mahakapi Jātaka (Jātaka 417). The Bodhisattva was once born as the prince of a gigantic herd of apes who were dwelling upon a mango tree on the banks of the Ganges. King Brahmadatta of Benares caused the tree to be transplanted with a view to killing the apes. The Bodhisattva seized a tree on the opposite bank, and thus formed a bridge over which the entire herd could pass and escape. Devadatta, however, his hostile cousin, rushed with such force at the prince of the apes that he broke his spine. The spirit of sacrifice of the Bodhisattva had so touched Brahmadatta that he nursed the dying one, who as a reward gave him a number of admonitions. *Right:* The Conception or the Dream of Maya. Maya, the future mother of Gautama, sees the Buddha descend in the shape of a white elephant. During her pregnancy the four guardians of the world guarded her couch. One of them has here taken over the rôle of the three others.

Bottom: Left: Episode from the Mahamagga Jātaka (Jātaka 546). Amara, the spouse of the Bodhisattva during one of his former existences, has summoned to her, during the absence of her husband, the latter's enemies. She causes all of them, who, in expectation of some gallant adventure, had in the darkness stolen one by one into the house, to be packed up in mats. She then had them brought into the presence of the King, thus proving her own purity and the innocence of her husband. *Right:* Ruru Jātaka (Jātaka 482). A suicide who had thrown himself into the Ganges was saved by the Bodhisattva, who had then been born as a gold gazelle. The miscreant betrayed the whereabouts of the rare animal to the King Brahmadatta. Instead of trying to escape, the Bodhisattva came up to the hunting King and enlightened him with regard to the ingratitude of the man he had saved.

Height of Tondi: 0.49 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

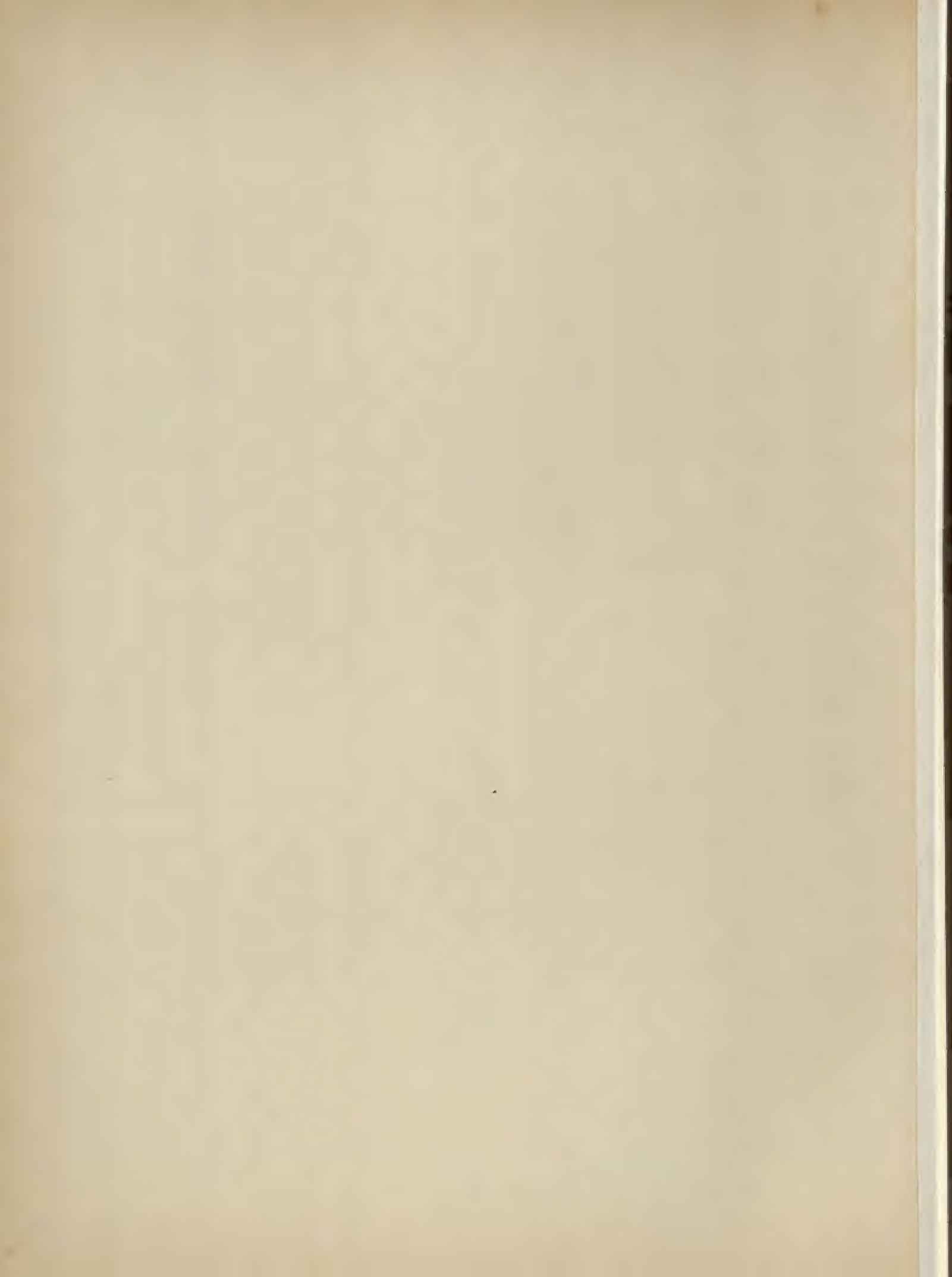
Photo: India Office.

(a)



(b)







31

STŪPA OF BĀRHŪT

Four Tondi from the Stone Hedge.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Top: Right: The Legend of the Jetavana Garden. The merchant Anathapindika had invited the Buddha to Śravastī. In search of a dwelling worthy of him he had found the garden of Prince Jeta. The clever owner asked a rather high price for it, namely as many gold pieces as would cover the whole garden. Anathapindika consented and erected in the garden the famous Jetavana cloister. The founder appears twice, once while he is superintending the laying out of the gold pieces, and once as he is pouring some water from a jug to consecrate the ground. The water is supposed to flow over the hands of the Buddha, who is here symbolized by the hedged-in tree. *Left:* Unknown scene. Apes are leading an elephant.

Bottom: Left: Unknown scene. Apes with the assistance of an elephant are drawing out the teeth of a man.

Right: Female Bust.

Height of Tondi: 0.49 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.







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STÔPA OF BĀRHÔT

Four Tondi with Male and Female Busts from the Stone Hedge.

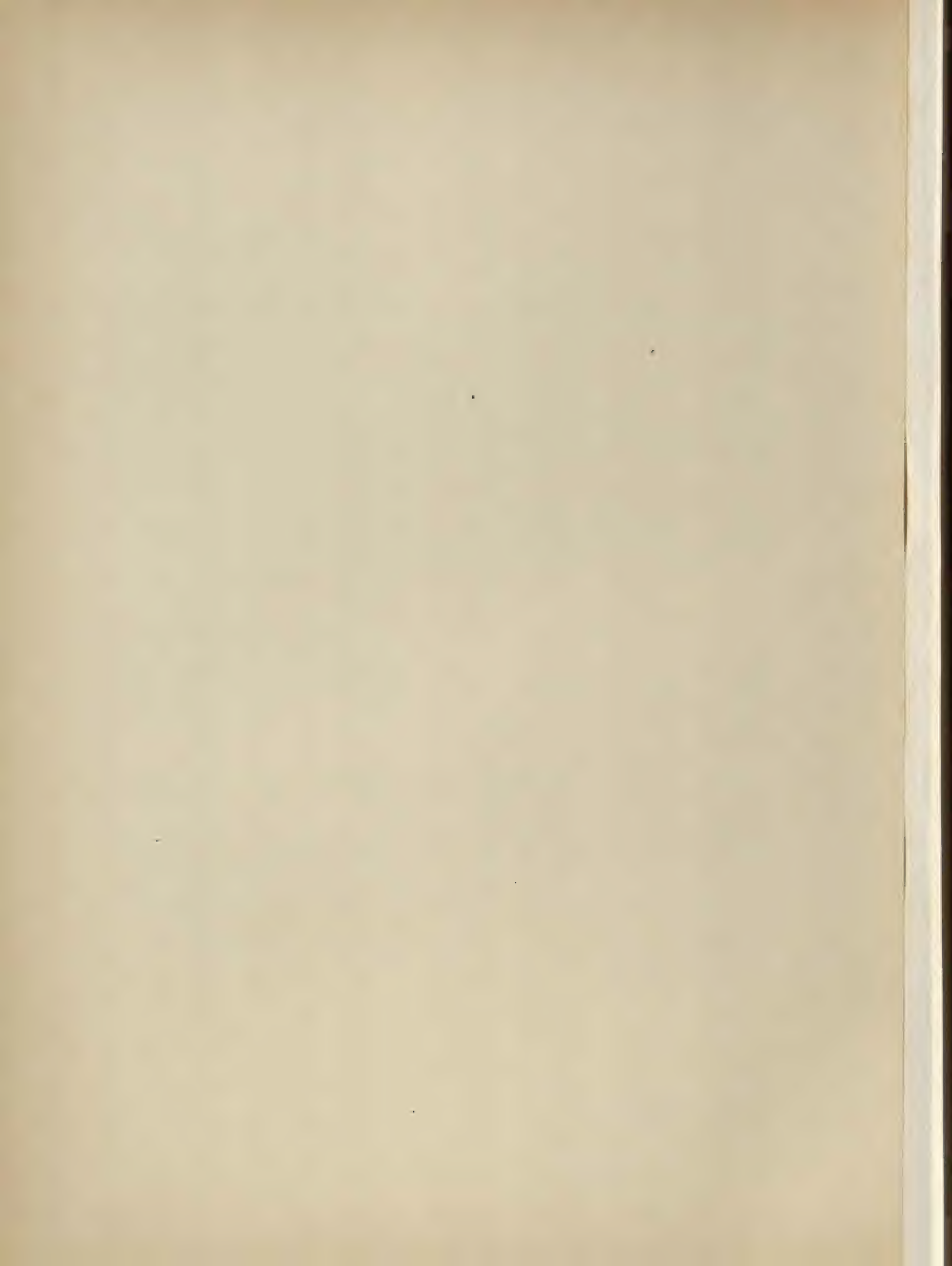
MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Height of Tondi: 0.49 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: India Office.





33

Top: STÜPA OF BÄRHÜT
Fragment of Middle Architrave from Eastern Gate.

MIDDLE OF THE II CENTURY B.C.

Indian Museum.

Photo: India Office.

Bottom: STONE HEDGE FROM BODH GAYÄ
Southern Tract. Inner Side.

100-50 B.C.

Figures 1-2. In the semicircle to the left the visit of Indra to Buddha in the Indrasäla cave is represented. Indra and the Buddha are not represented. The harp player is Panchasikha, the leader of the heavenly musicians, the Gandharvas.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





18

34

STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ

Corner Post of the Southern Tract. Outside View.

100-50 B.C.

The railing of Bodh Gayā encloses a big rectangle in the midst of which the temple stands. The jamb, as is shown by Plate 36, was altered at a later time. The beautiful group of a man who is helping a young girl to climb up a tree, seems, at the first glance, to belong to a later stylistic phase; but a more minute examination shows that the motion is seen from the outside and is not felt from the interior. Herein the work resembles the reliefs of the semicircle and the frieze of the running animals on the inner side of the beams. The manner also in which the forms are spread out in the space points to an earlier time of production.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





11-12-23

35

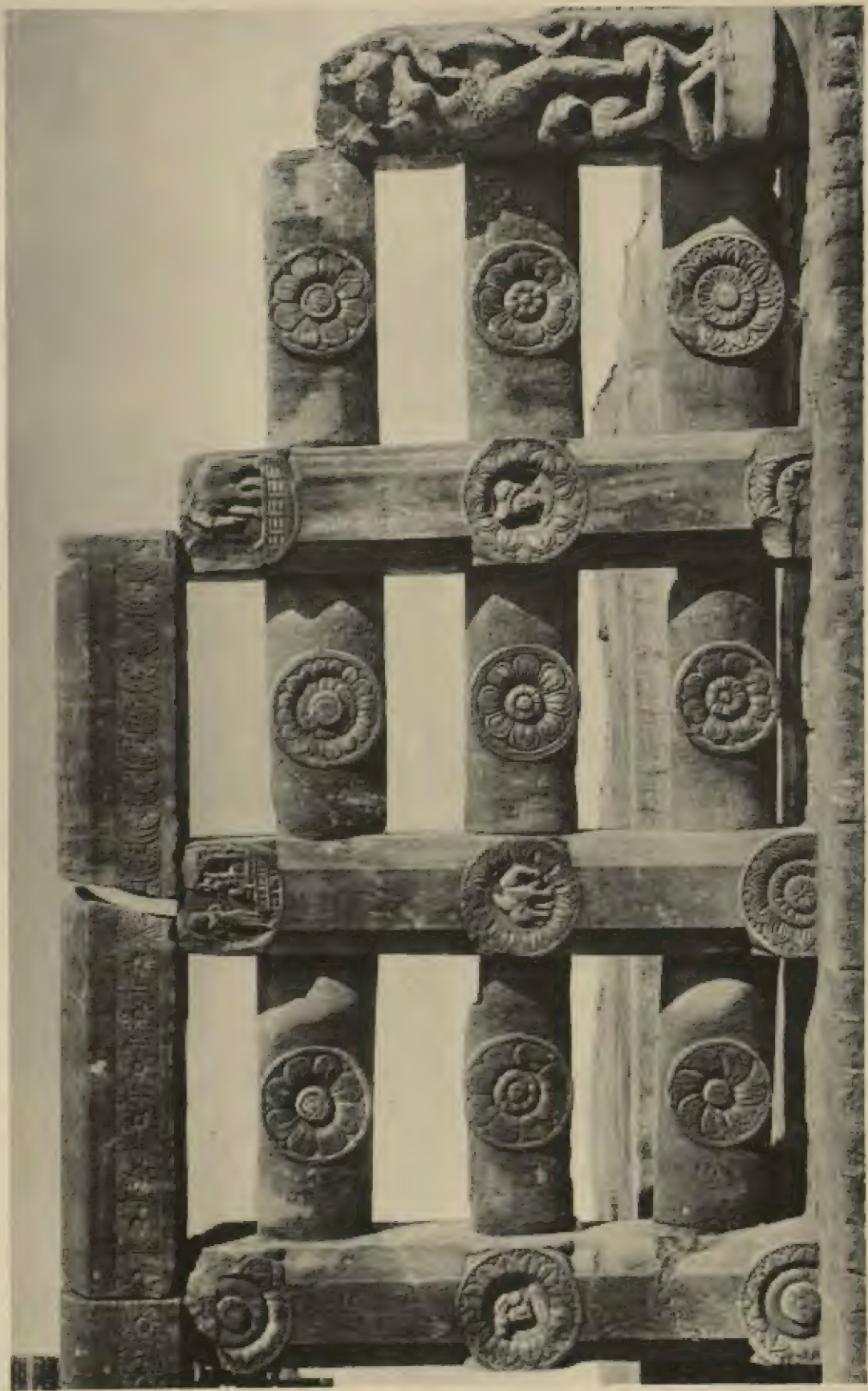
STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYA

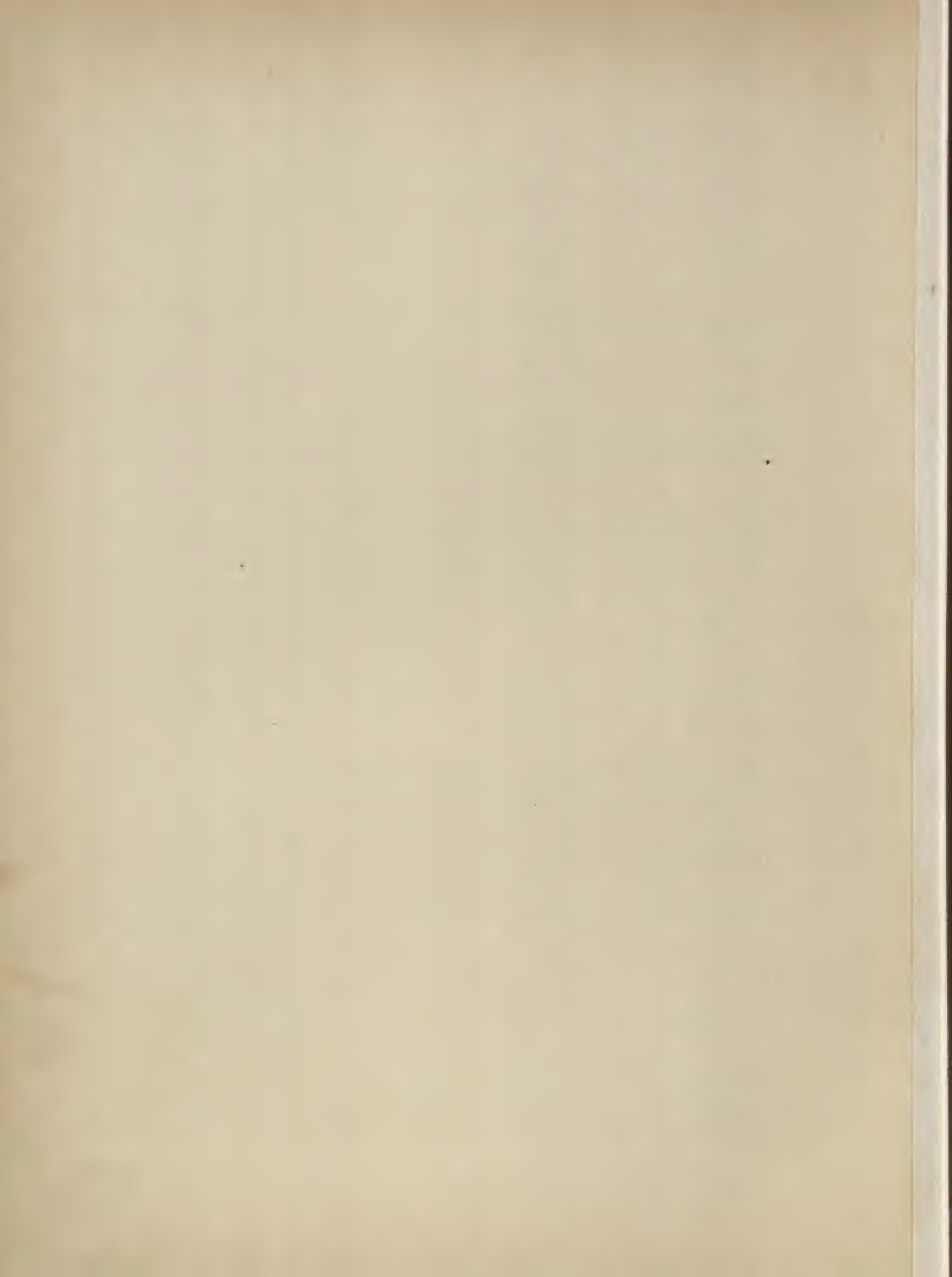
Southern Tract. Outside View of Jambis 1-4.

100-30 B.C.

Height of Jambis: c. 170 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ
Southern Tract. Inner View of Jambs 1-5.

100-50 B.C.

Height of Jambs: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Jéhin & Hoffmann.





37

STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ

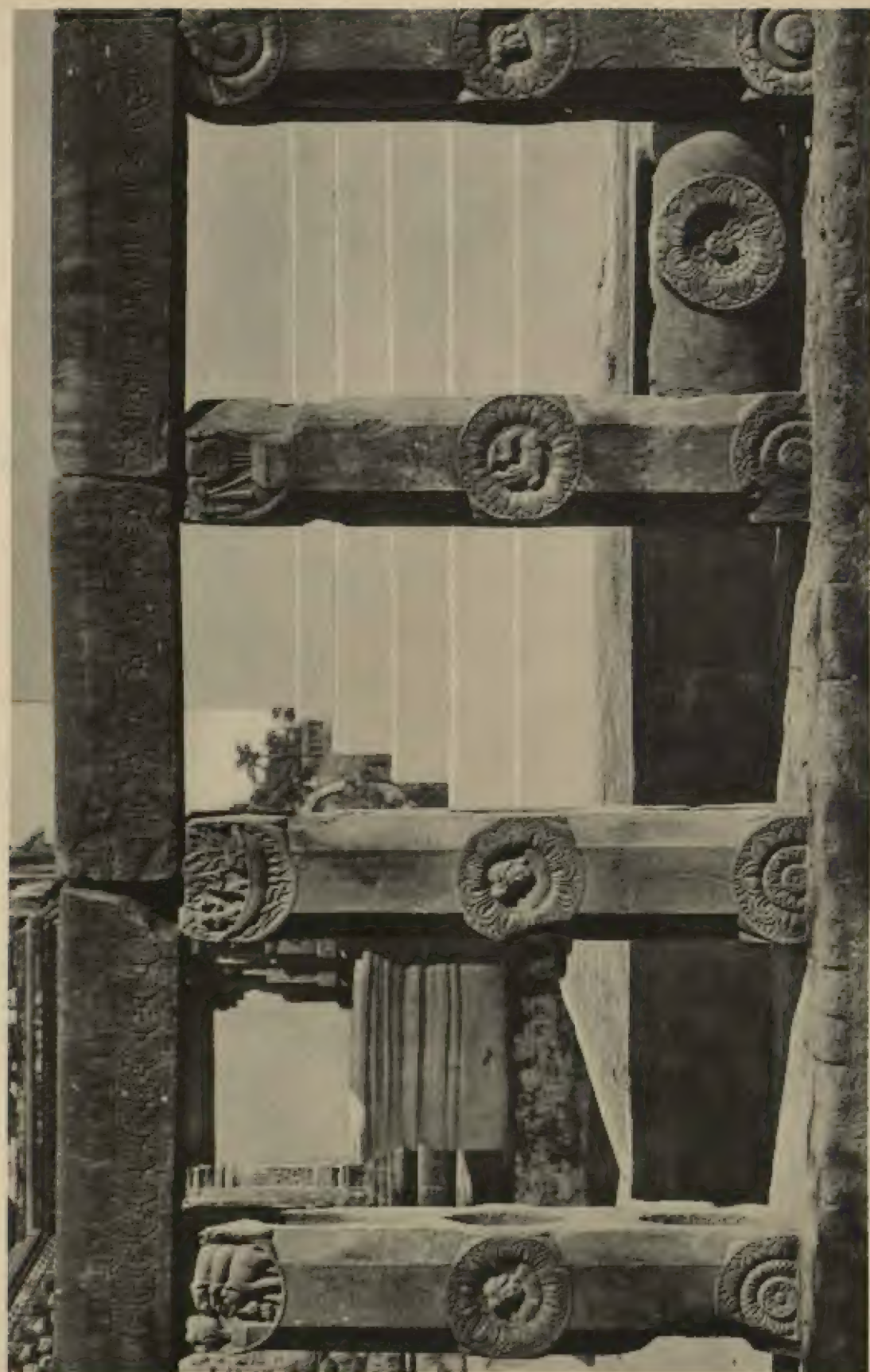
Southern Tract. Outside View of Jamb 4-7.

100-30 B.C.

On jamb 6 in semicircle the Buddha is shown walking upon the face of the waters of the River Nairanjana and converting the Brahman Kāśyapa.

Height of Jamb: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYA
Southern Tract. Inside View of Jambh 4-10.

100-50 B.C.

Heights of Jambh: c. 170 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





Q8

39

STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ

Left: Corner Jamb of North Eastern Tract. Indra as the Brahman Santi.

100-50 B.C.

Height: 1.71 m.

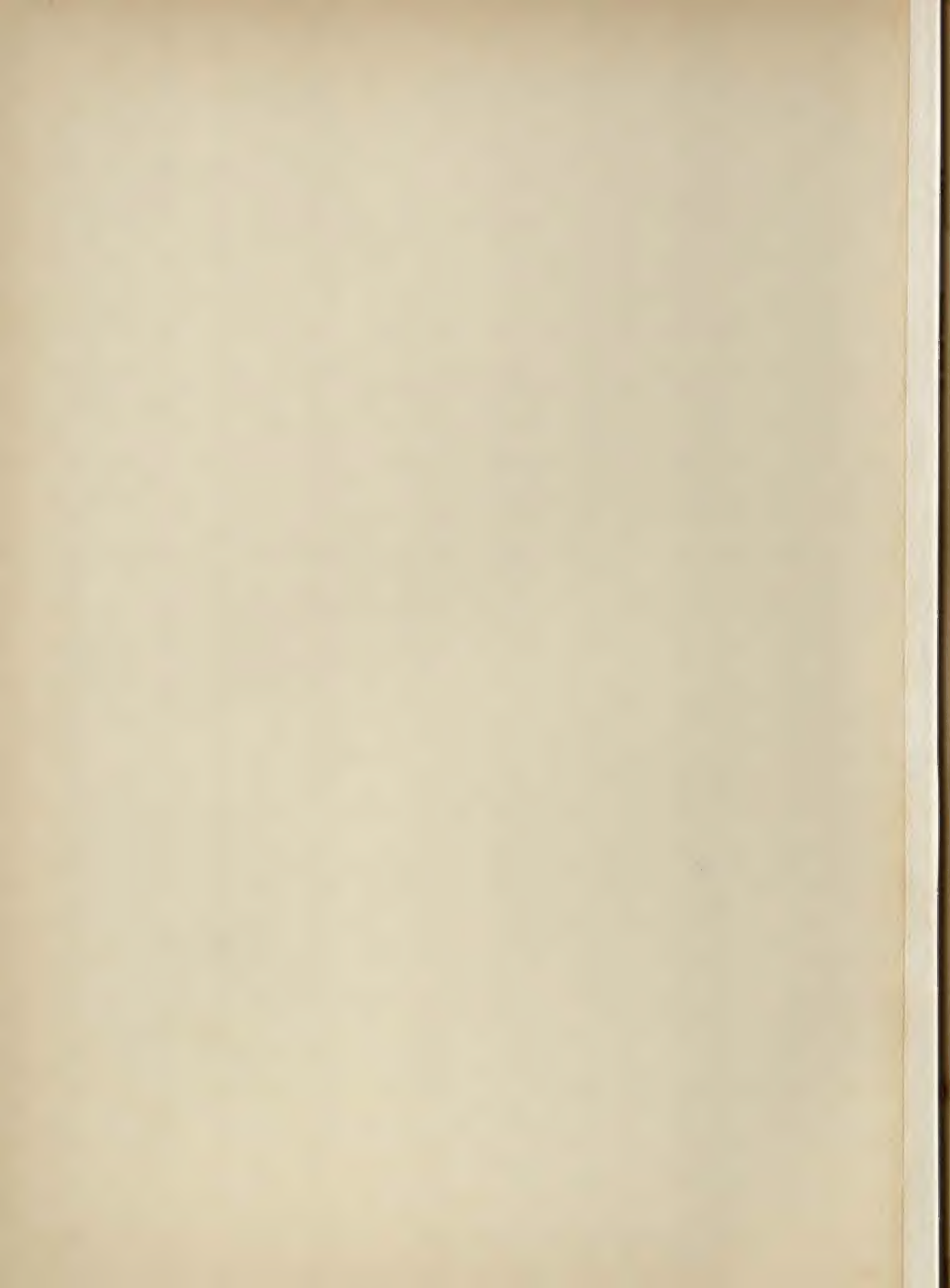
Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.

Right: A Single Jamb on the North Side of Temple.

Female Figure. A similar female figure of the same style was discovered at Rajasan (Bihar and Orissa). (Cf. A.S.R. 1918/19, Part 1, Pl. 19/b.)

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





40

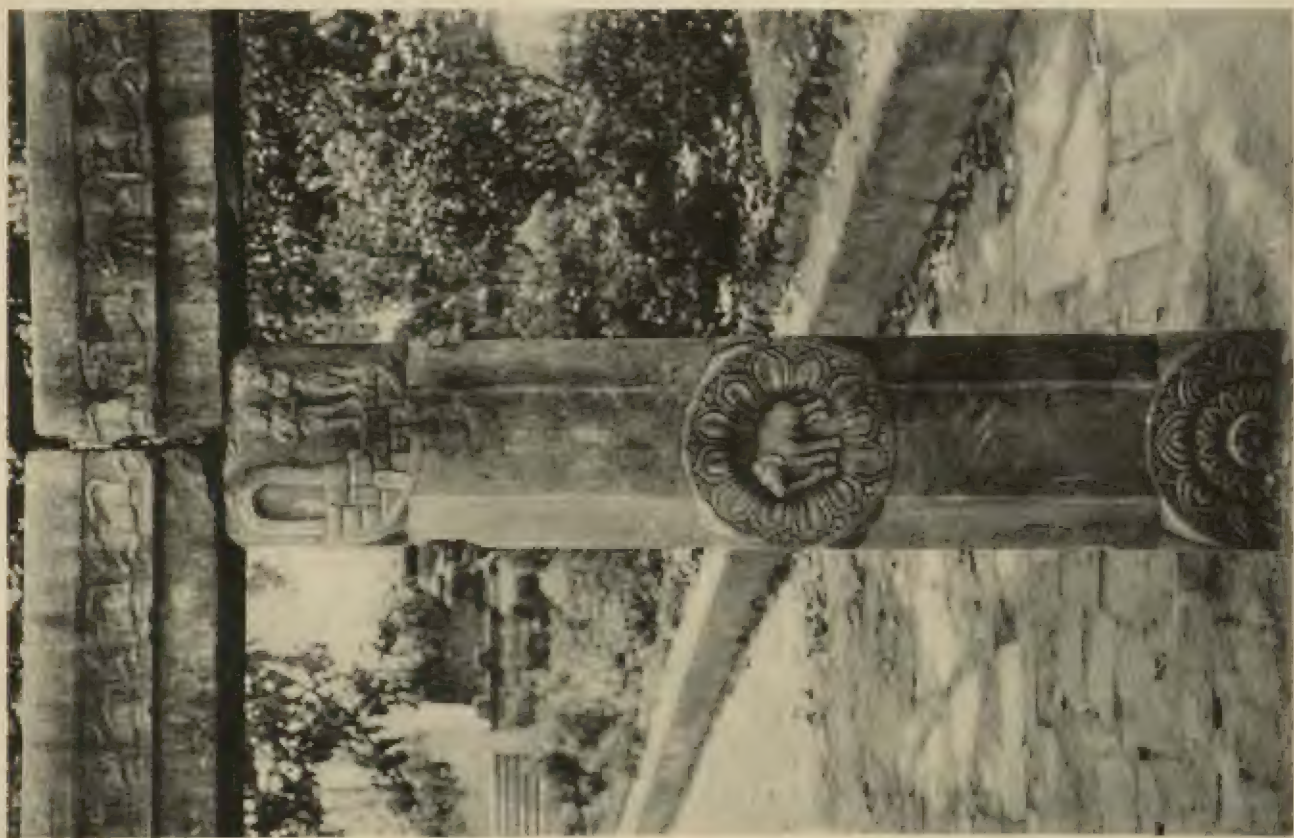
STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ

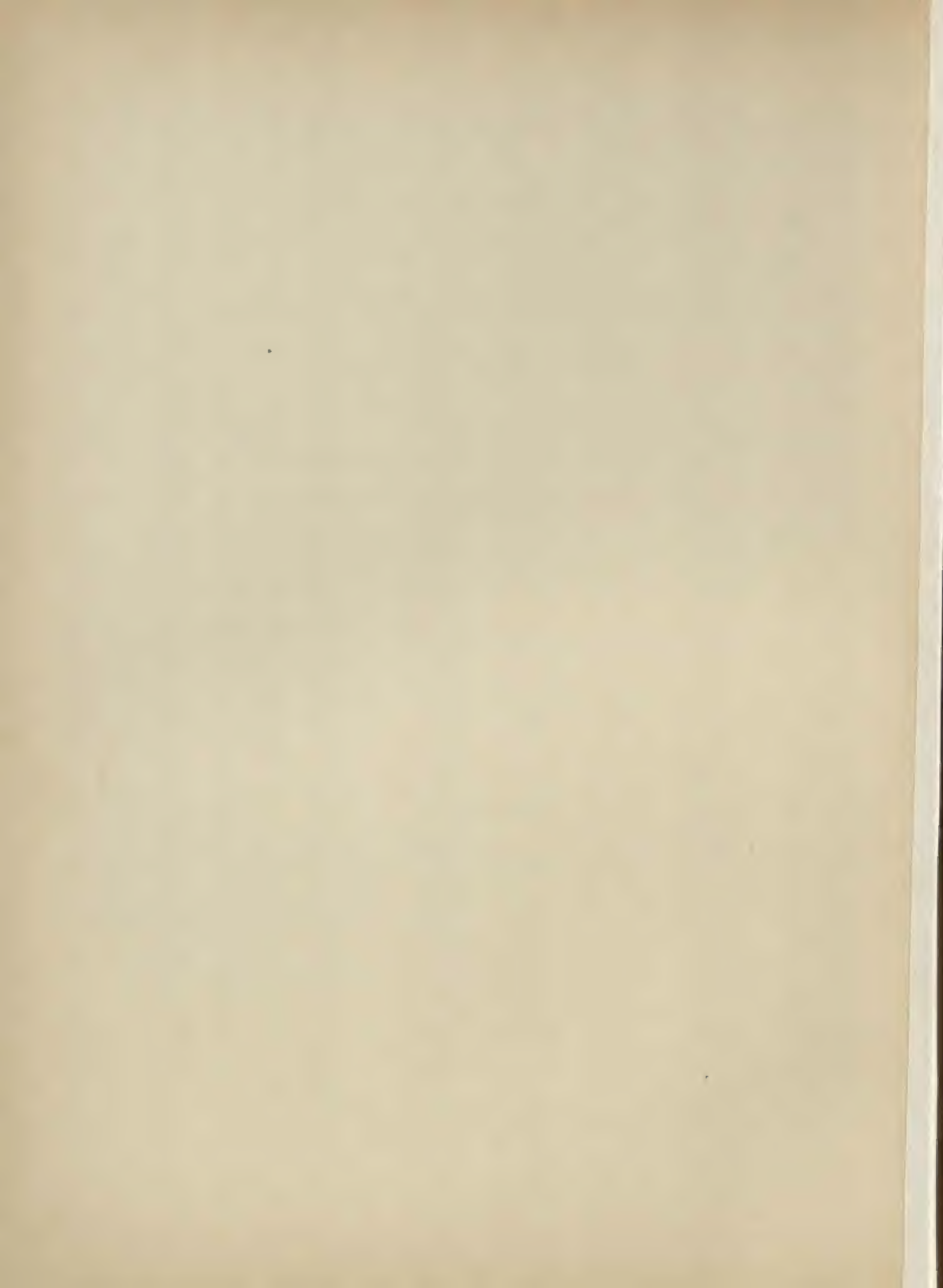
Southern Tract. Inside View of Jambis 6 and 8.

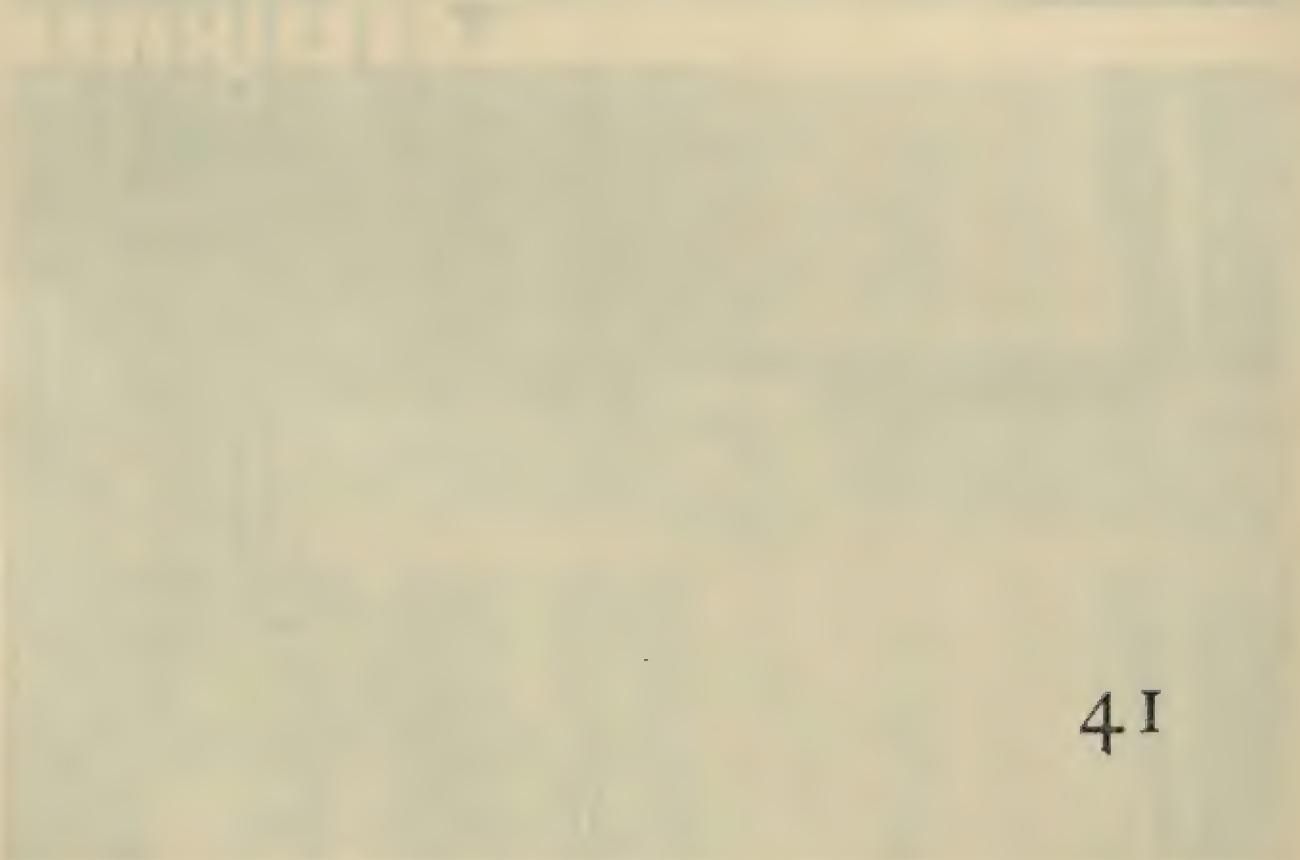
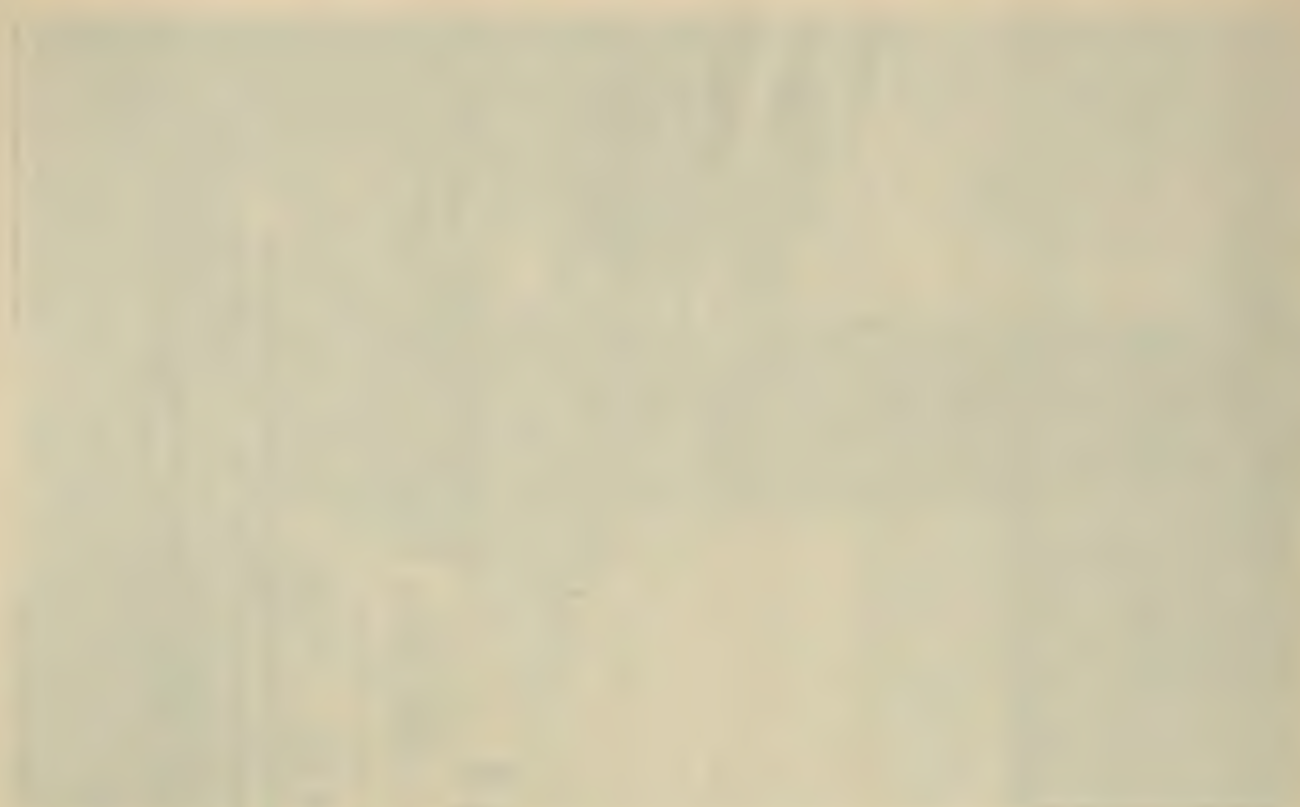
100-50 B.C.

Height of Jambis: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.







41

STONE HEDGE OF BODHI GAYĀ

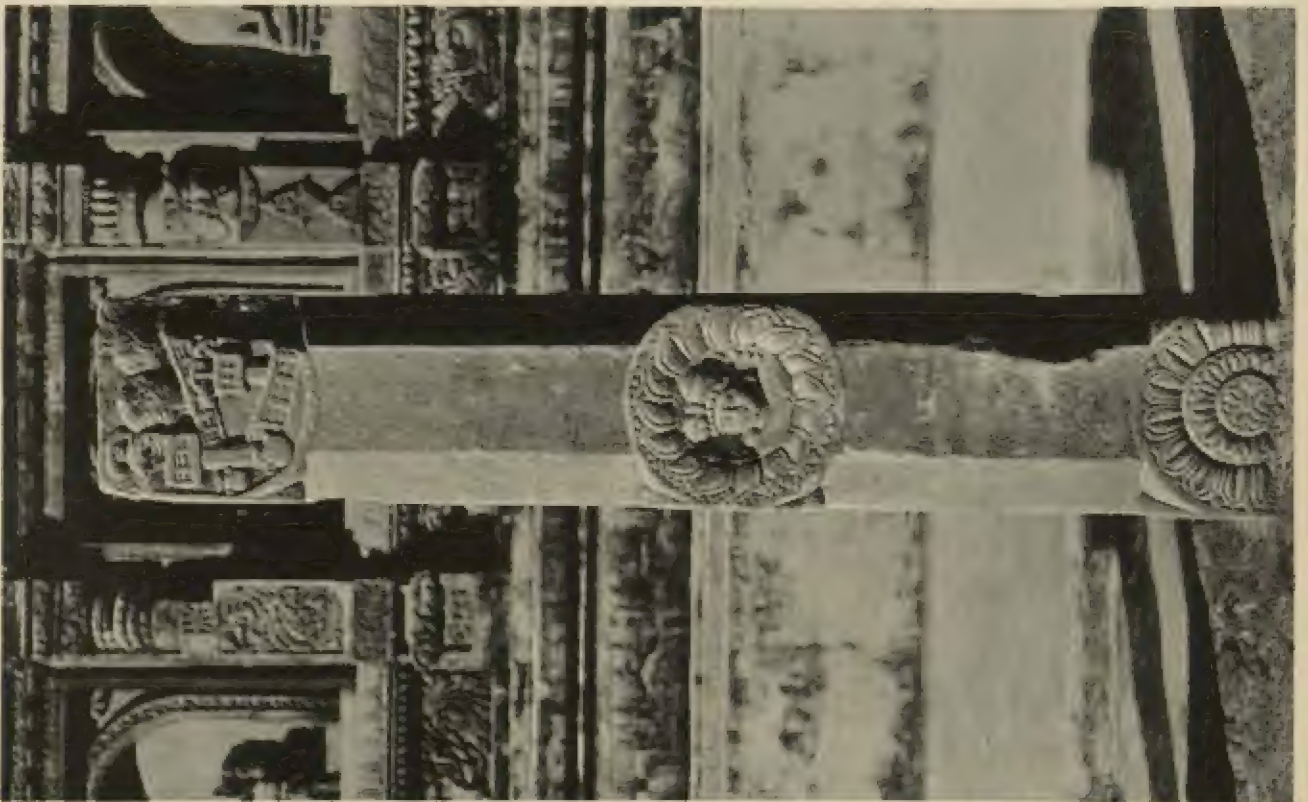
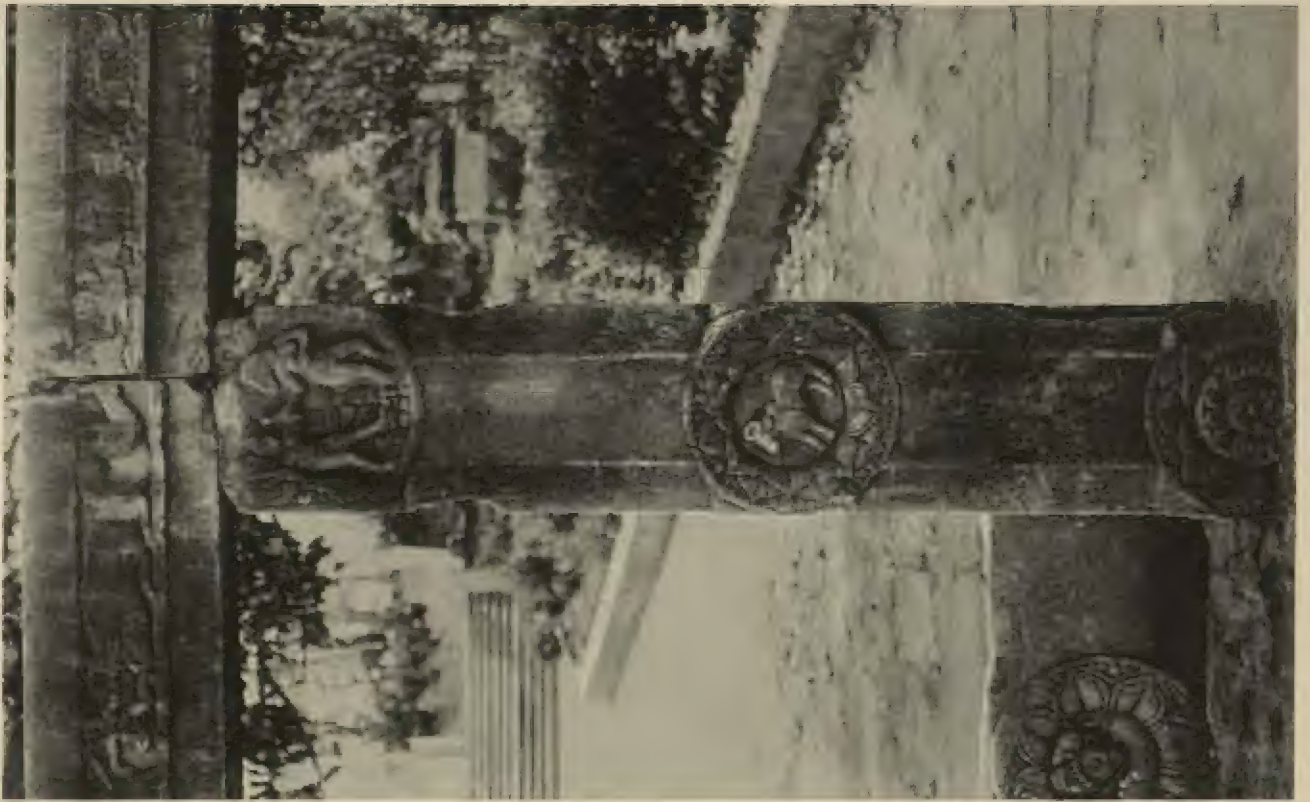
Southern Tract. Inside View of Posts 27 and 5.

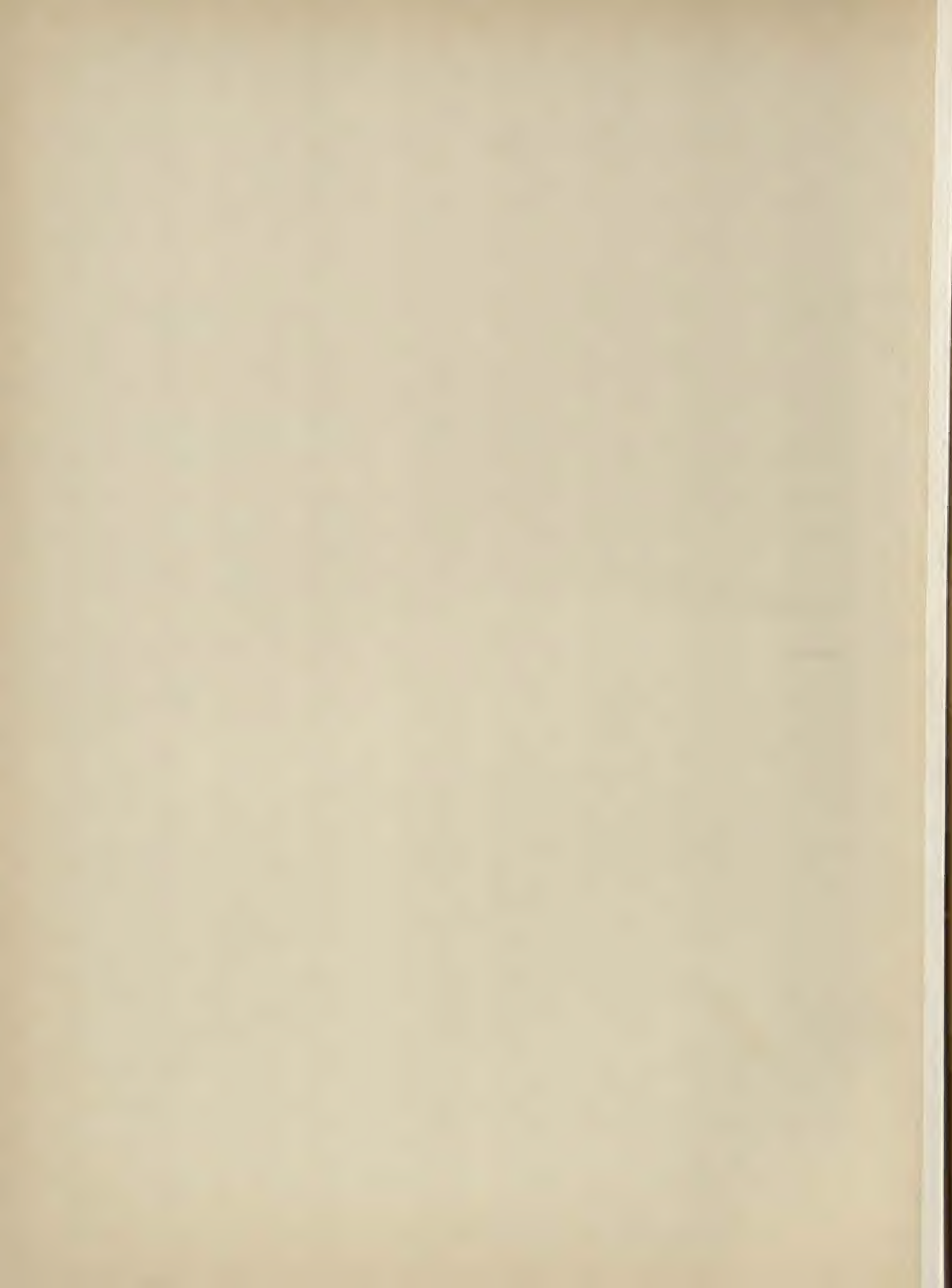
100-50 B.C.

In the semicircle of jamb 5 (to the right) Pada Kusala Manava Jāṭaka (Jāṭaka 432). When Brahmaddatta was King of Benares his principal wife betrayed him. When questioned, she replied: "If I betray thee may I become a Yakkhi with the head of a horse." So it actually happened after her death, when she lived in the desert and devoured the passers-by. One day a handsome Brahman passed with whom she fell in love. Dragging him into her cave she bore him a son. Father and son later on left her, whereupon her heart broke.

Height of Posts: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





42

STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ

Reliefs.

100-50 B.C.

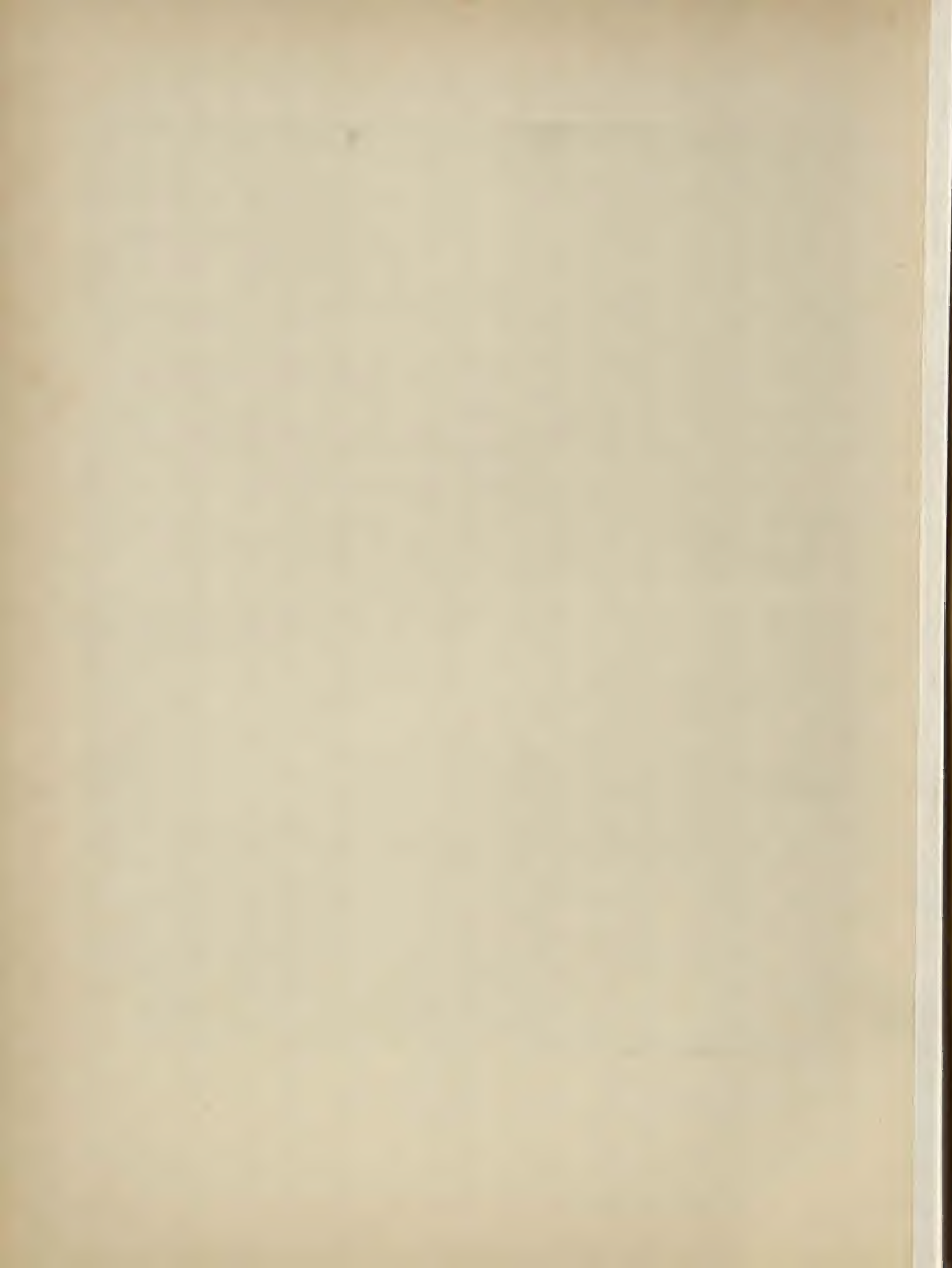
Top: Left: The Jetavana Legend (cf. Plate 31). (Southern Tract, Jamb 10.) *Right:* The Goddess Lakṣmi. According to Foucher, the birth of the Buddha is here symbolized. (Southern tract, jamb 8.)

Bottom: Left: Sujata Worships the Bodhisattva, who is seated beneath the Sacred Tree of Uruvela. As customary, the Bodhisattva is not represented. (Southern tract, jamb 9.)

Right: Male Busts. (Southern tract, jamb 2.)

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





43

STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ Corner Jamb of North-Western Tract (68).

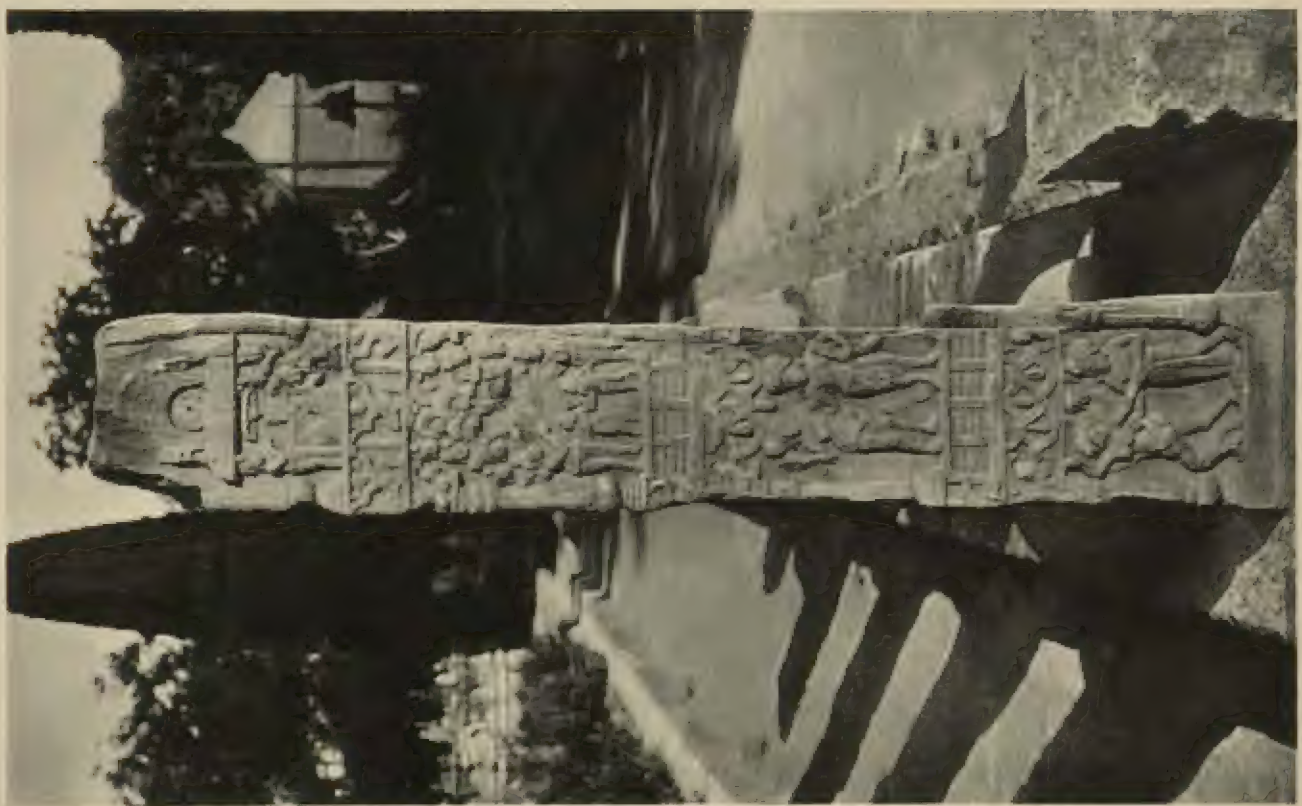
LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Left: View from the West. The Atlantes in the upper panel are the natural further development of the identical motif at Barhūt. (Cf. Pl. 23-24.)

Right: View from the North. In the second panel the Sun god Surya on his chariot. The conception is not influenced by the hellenistic version, where Helios with his quadriga is always shown in a bevel view; it rather shows the change of the old Indian motif into the new severely tectonical style of the period. An older version is shown in Plate 65.

Height: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.



44

STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYA
Corner Jamb of South-Western Tract.

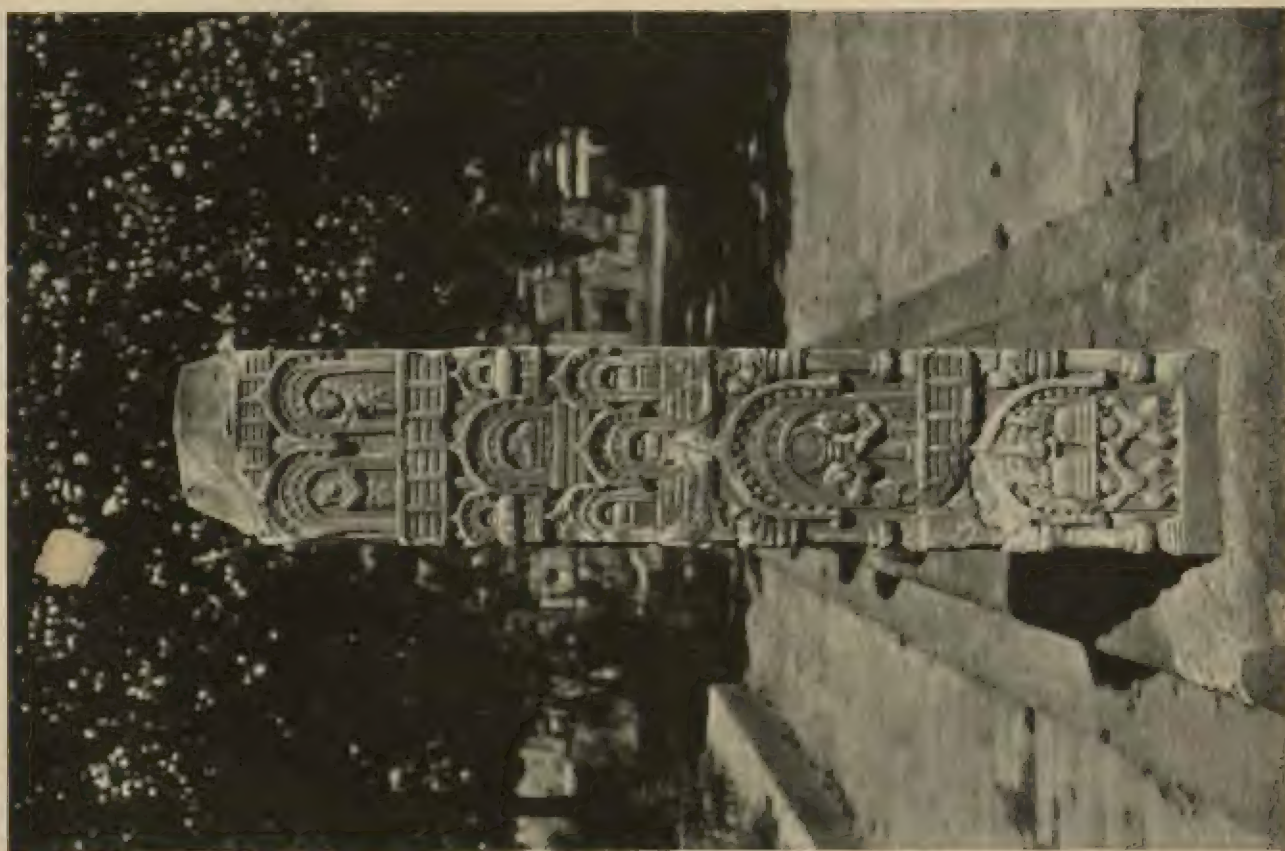
LATTER HALF OF THE 1 CENTURY B.C.

Left: View from the South.

Right: View from the West.

Height: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.



43

45

45

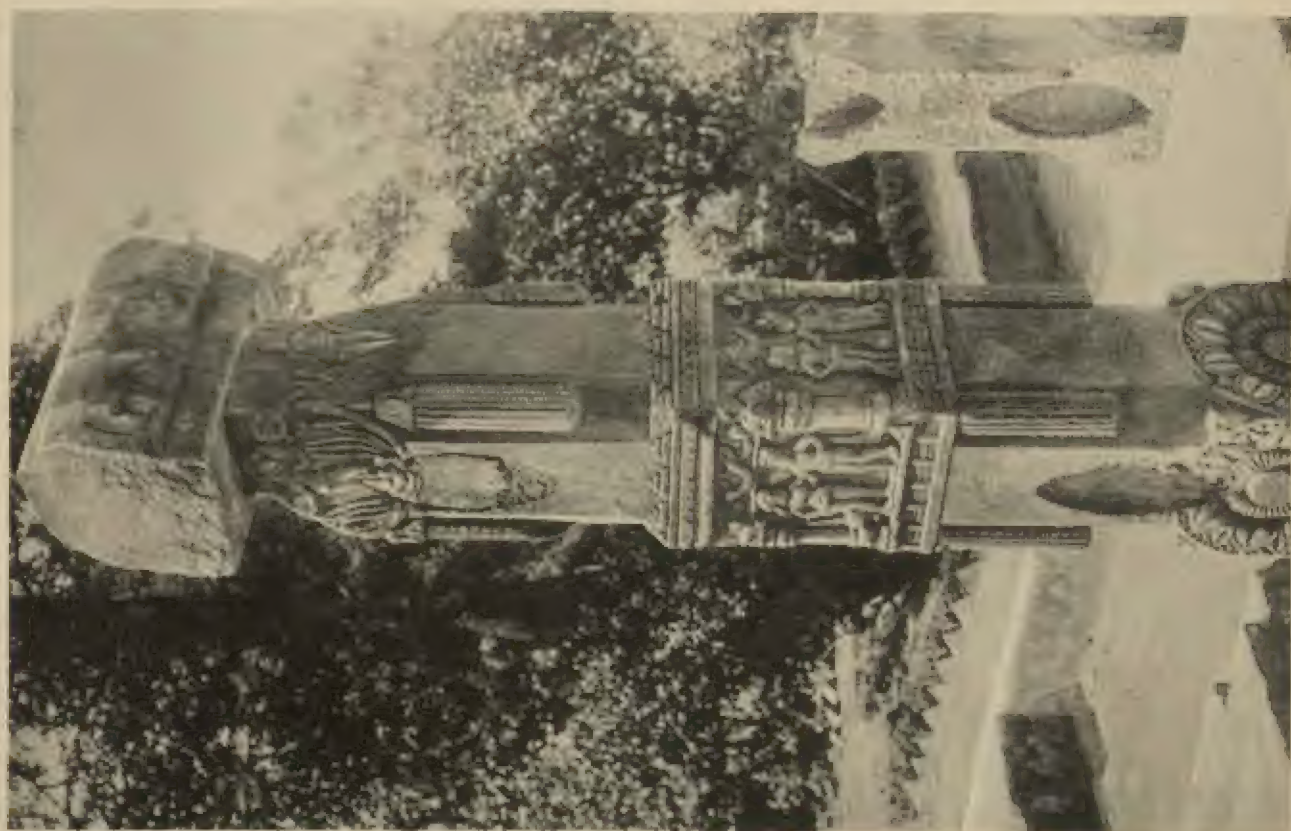
STONE HEDGE OF BODH GAYĀ

Southern Tract. Corner Jamb (22) at the Opening.

LATTER HALF OF THE 1 CENTURY B.C.

Height: c. 1.70 m.

Photo: Johnston & Hoffmann.





46

SANCHI. SOUTHERN GATE OF THE GREAT STÜPA Outside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

During the reconstruction in 1882/3 the upper and the lower architraves were inverted, so that the less important reliefs are placed towards the outside.

Upper architrave: According to Foucher the birth of the Buddha is here depicted and consequently Maya, the mother of the Sublime, is standing in the middle, flanked by two elephants sprinkling water over her. Personally I consider the old interpretation as the happier one, which saw in the figure the Goddess of fortune Lakṣmi. The change of an eventful design into a purely decorative filling out of surface lay outside the limits of conception of this period.

Middle architrave: Aśoka Visits the Stūpa at Ramagrama. The foundation inscription of Balamitra. Upon the left volute-end Mudupāni Jātaka is perhaps illustrated (cf. plate 56, and page 66).

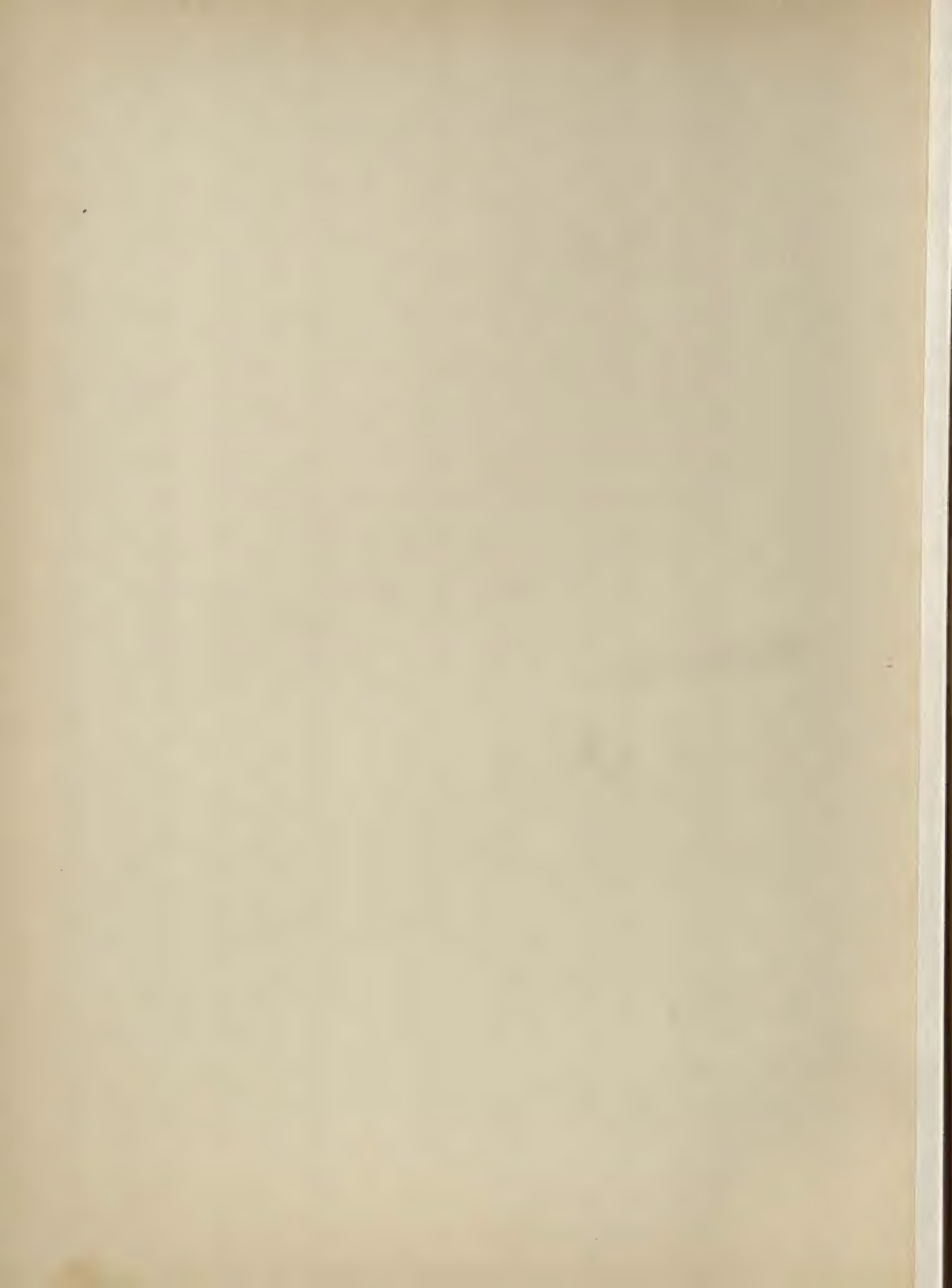
Lower architrave: Decorative filling out of middle panel, on both ends peacocks.

Left jamb: Upper panel: The first sermon in the Park of Stags at Benares and the visit of Aśoka are illustrated.

Second panel: Aśoka and his suite.

Photo: India Office.





Southern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Inside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Upper architrave: The six Buddhas of the past and Gautama Buddha, symbolized by three stūpas and four trees. At both ends, Kantiaka, the horse of Gautama.

Middle architrave: Śaddanta Jataka (cf. p. 42).

Lower architrave: The War of Relics. From the right the Lichchhavis, Ajatasatru, the Śākys, the Bālīs, the Koliyas, the Mallas of Pava, and a Brahman advance against Kusinara for the purpose of recapturing the relics of the Buddha from the Mallas of Kusinara. In the middle the siege of the town and to the left the departure of the victors are illustrated.





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SANCHI

Northern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Outside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

This gate has best retained its plastic ornamentation. On the upper and middle architraves the seven Buddhas are represented.

Lower architrave, right end of volute: Alambusa Jātaka (Jātaka 523).

During one of his former existences the Bodhisattva was an ascetic with whom a doe had fallen in love. A son was born to the odd couple and he had a unicorn. As years passed by, he became so virtuous that the gods grew afraid. Sakka therefore sent the heavenly dancer Alambusa to seduce the youth: an effort in which she easily succeeded. After a happiness which lasted three years she revealed to him her heavenly origin and returned to Sakka.

On the large middle panel: Vessantara Jātaka (Jātaka 547).

During his penultimate existence the Bodhisattva was born as Prince Vessantara, who distinguished himself by his great liberality.

The story begins to the right: Vessantara gives away his white elephant and takes leave of his parents before proceeding with his family to the desert. Carriage and horses are then left to several Brahmans and the journey is continued on foot. In vain the Cheta princes try to detain him; he and his retire to a hermitage. The story is continued on the verso of the architrave.

Left jamb: Upper panel: The Adoration of the Throne. *Second panel:* The Cloister Jetavana at Śrāvastī. *Third panel:* An Open Hall, perhaps that of Śrāvastī. *Fourth panel:* A King, Prasenajit according to Marshall, leaves a town accompanied by his suite. *Lower panel:* The Paradise of Indra (?).

Right jamb: Upper panel: The Descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three where his mother Maya had been reborn. In the middle the heavenly leaders, flanked by Indra and Brahma. *Second panel:* Departure of a prince from a town, perhaps the departure of Śuddhodana from Kapilavastu. *Third panel:* The Miracle of Kapilavastu. Before the eyes of his father Śuddhodana the Buddha rises up in the air. The scene is probably connected with the next one on the inner side of the jamb.

Photo: India Office.





49

SĀNCĪ

Northern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Inside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

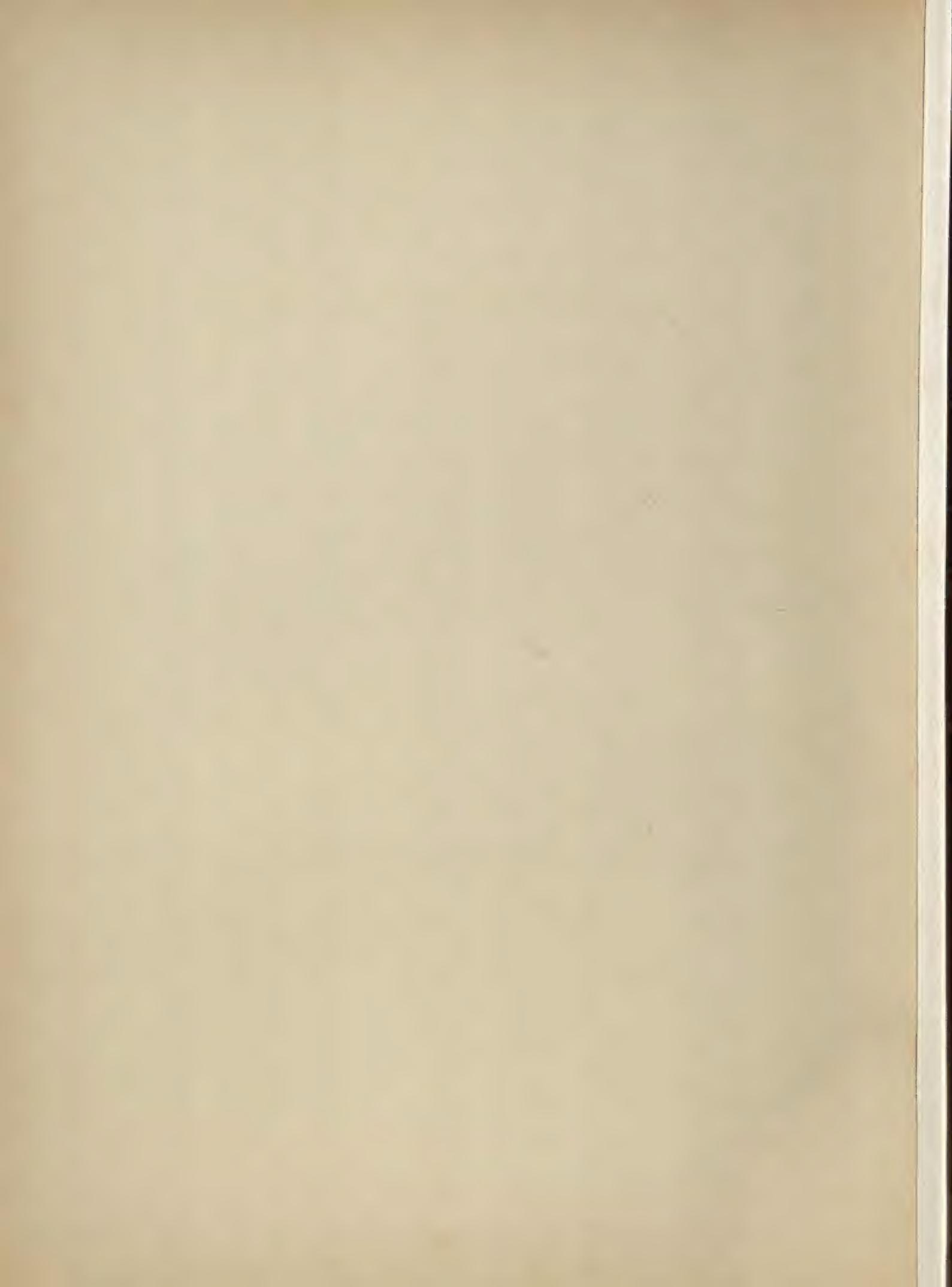
Upper architrave: Śaddanta Jāṭaka (cf. p. 42). The version stands between the chatty narrative of the southern gate and the pure configuration of the western gate.

Middle architrave: The Temptation. Mara, the evil one, sits near the middle and sends his beautiful daughters towards the Sublime under the Bodh tree; to the left of Mara are his demons, personifications of human passions.

Lower architrave: Continuation of the Vessantara Jāṭaka. Quite to the right, the prince with his wife and children in the wilderness. In the middle panel, at the right edge, the hut which Sakka has got ready for him; farther down to the left, Vessantara makes a present of his children to the Brahman Jujaka, while the mother is kept at a distance. An archer, sent by the Cheta princes as a secret protector, aims at Jujaka, who appears again at the lower edge, just as he is driving away the children. Farther down to the left Vessantara gives also away his wife; but with the assistance of the gods wife and children are restored to him. On the left end of the volute are seen the children in the palace of their grandparents.

Photo: India Office.



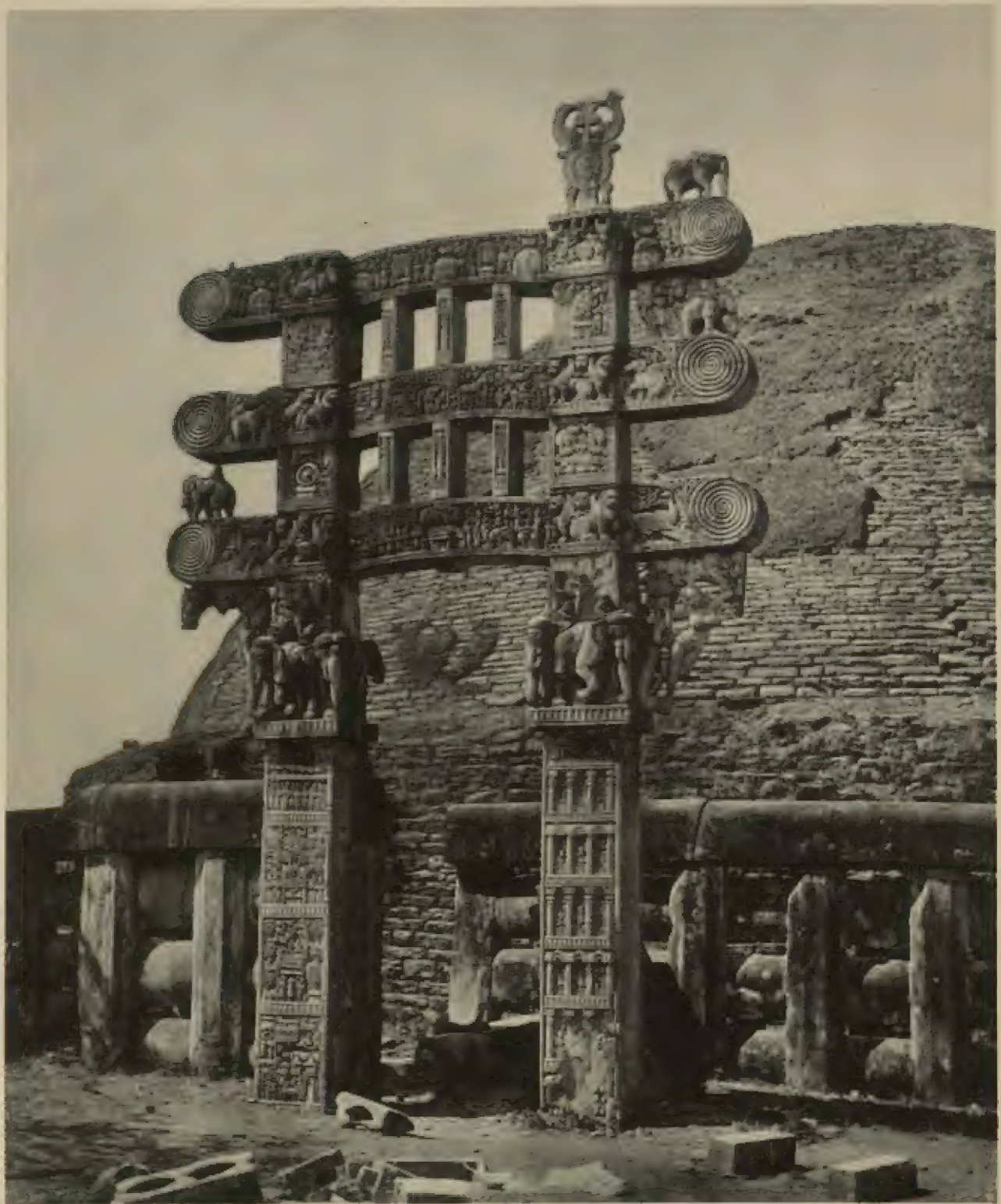


SĀNCHI

Eastern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Outside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Upper architrave: The Seven Buddhas.*Middle architrave:* Departure of Gautama from Kapilavastu, his native town. As long as Gautama is imagined to be seated upon his horse Kanthaka, the animal is carried by genii so that the noise of the hoofs may not wake the relatives.*Lower architrave:* Aśoka visits the Bodh tree at Bodh Gayā.*Left jamb:* In the two upper panels the Enlightenment of the Sublime is illustrated. *Third panel:* The Buddha walks upon the River Nairanjana, for the purpose of converting the Brahman Kāśyapa. *Lower panel:* King Bimbisara leaves the town Rajagriha on a visit to the Buddha.*Right jamb:* On the top the lowest of the Brahmaloкас is represented; then follow the six lower heavens of the gods (Devalokas).*Photo: India Office.*



SANCHI

Eastern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Inside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE 1 CENTURY B.C.

Upper architrave: The Seven Buddhas.

Middle architrave: The Enlightenment.

The animals and fabulous beings are intended to show the power obtained over all beings in consequence of the Enlightenment; the serpent is perhaps to remind of the episode when the Nāga King Muṇḍilinda protected the

Sublime against the rain.

Lower architrave: Elephants Worship a Stūpa, perhaps that of Rāmāgrāma.

Photo: India Office.





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SANCHI

Western Gate of the Great Stūpa. Outside View.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Upper architrave: The Seven Buddhas.

Middle architrave: The First Annunciation of the Law in the Park of Stags at Benares.

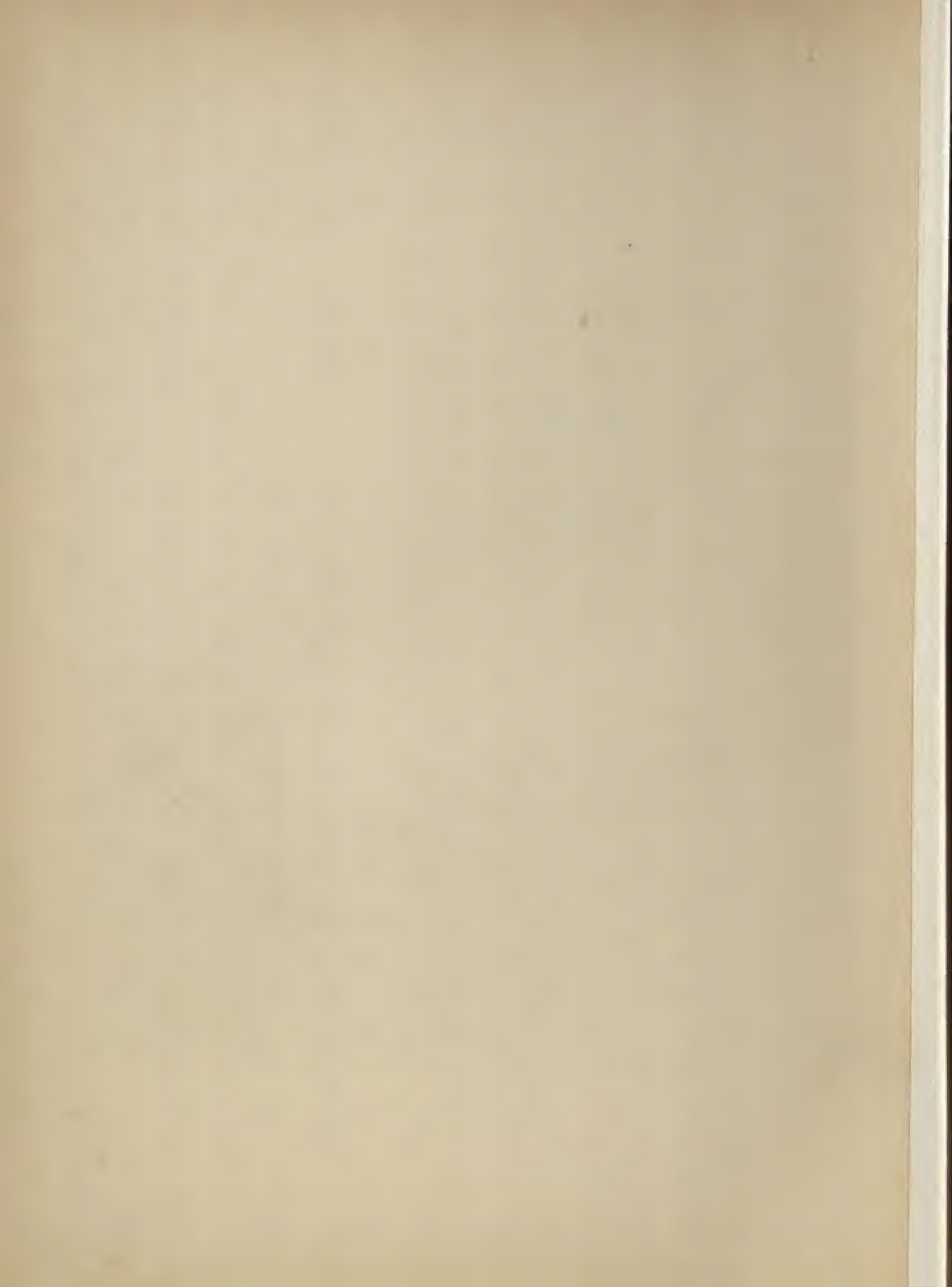
Lower architrave: Śaddanta Jātaka (cf. p. 42).

Left post: Upper panel: The Paradise of Indra (?).

Right jamb: Upper panel: Mahakapi Jātaka (Jātaka 417) (cf. plate 30). *Second panel:* The Sermon in the Tushita Heaven. *Third panel:* Scene of Adoration. *Fourth panel:* Three lions and over them the inscription of the founder Balamitra.

Photo: India Office.





53

SANCHI

Western Gate of the Great Stūpa. Inside View.

CLOSE OF THE 1 CENTURY B.C.

Upper panel: The Malla King brings back the relics of Buddha to Kusinara.

Middle panel: The War of Relics (cf. Plate 47).

Lower architrave: The Temptation. The temple of Bodh Gayā, which appears in the middle, was first erected by Aśoka; to the right, the flying host of Mara; to the left, the worshipping Gods approach. With regard to the supposed anachronism of the scenery, cf. pp. 25f, 45.

Photo: India Office.





54

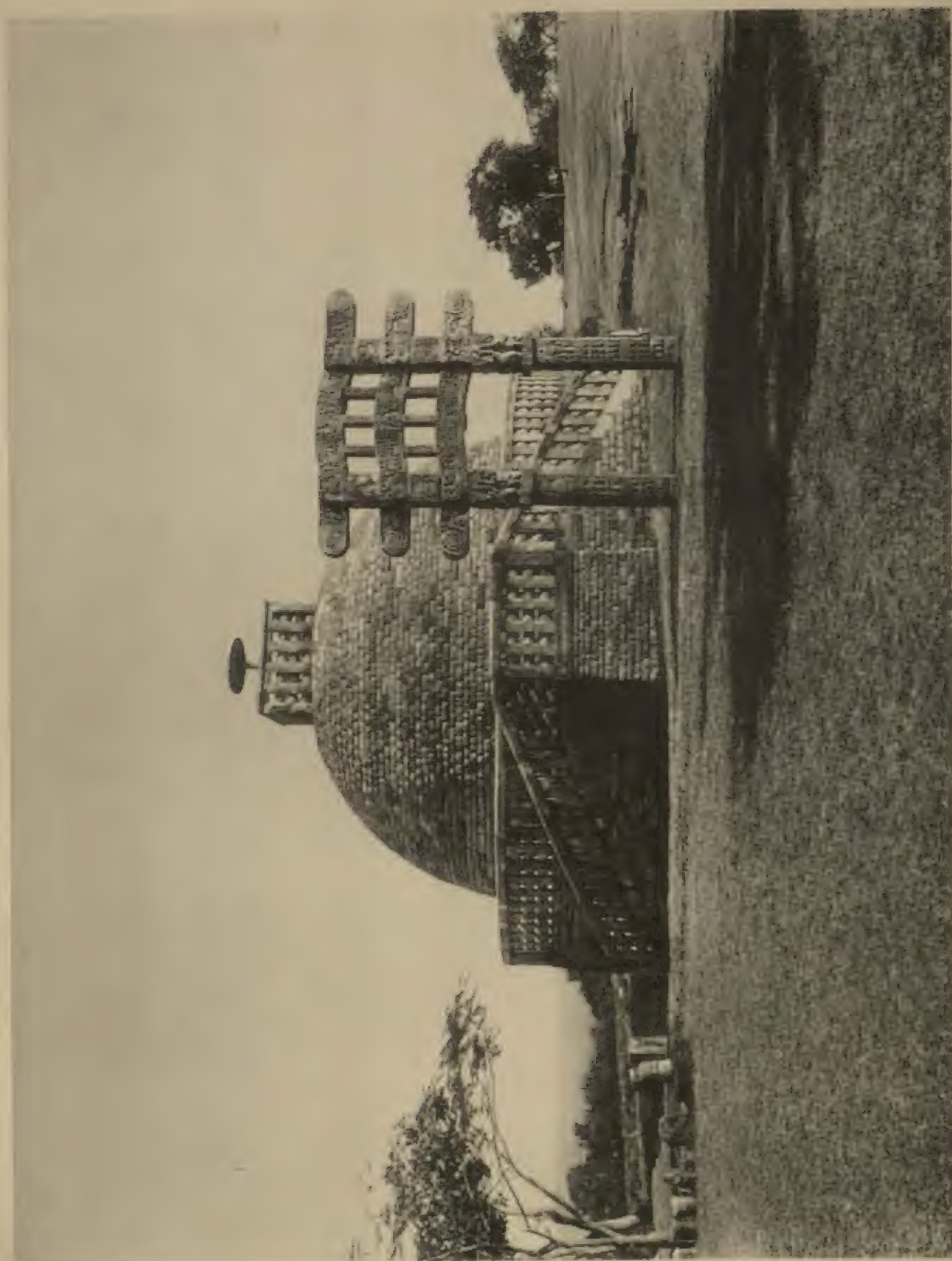
SANCHI

Stūpa III.

CLOSE OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

In this stūpa were preserved the relics of Sariputta and Mahamogallana, the most famous disciples of Buddha.
The railing has disappeared.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.





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SĀNCĪ

Gate of Stūpa III. Outside View.

CLOSE OF THE 1 CENTURY B.C.

The picture shows the heap of ruins out of which Marshall has ingeniously reconstructed the stūpa.

Upper architrave: The cross-beam has been put in wrongly. Decorative filling with garlands and dwarfs.

Middle architrave: Five Buddhas in the middle panel and the two ends. If we add the two Buddhas of the upper architrave which now, owing to the wrong insertion, appear on the verso, we obtain the full number of the seven Buddhas.

Lower architrave: The Heaven of Indra. In the middle, the hall of Indra and in front of it the River Manda-kinī; to the left and to the right the wilderness, and at the edges of the middle panel Nāga kings under five-headed serpents whose bodies extend to the ends of the architraves above the "false capitals", forming the volute.

Left jamb: *Top:* Adoration of a stūpa; below, worshippers.

Right jamb: *Top:* Adoration of a lion-column; below, worshippers.

Height: c. 5.20 m.

Photo: India Office.

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SĀNCHI

Gate of Stūpa III. Inside View.

CLOSE OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Upper architrave: Two Buddhas.

Middle and lower architraves: Decorative filling. On the ends of the lower cross beam the Mudupāni Jātaka has possibly been illustrated (cf. plate 46, and page 66).

Photo: India Office.





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57

SANCHI

Western Gate of the Great Stūpa.

CLOSE OF THE 1 CENTURY B.C.

Left Post: Inner Side.

Upper panel: Syama Jātaka. Syama, the son of blind parents, was shot dead by the King of Benares while he was drawing water. Moved by the remorse of the prince and by the grief of the parents, Indra resuscitates the boy and restores the sight of their eyes to his parents.

Second panel: The Enlightenment. Under the throne and the Bodh tree is the Nāga King Mucilinda.

Right jamb: Outside. Decorative filling. Characteristic of this time are the great fullness of the forms and the clear construction.

Photo: India Office.





SĀNCĪ

Eastern Gate of the Great Stūpa.

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Left: Figure of Guardian on the inner side of left jamb. After the plaster cast in Museum of Ethnology at Berlin.

Right: Right jamb. Inner side.

Upper panel: Adoration of the Buddha by his father, King Śuddhodana.

Second panel: The dream of Maya and the return of the Sublime to Kapilavastu (cf. pp. xxiv, 45).

Figure of watchman.





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SANCHI

Eastern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Front view of the two Jambs.

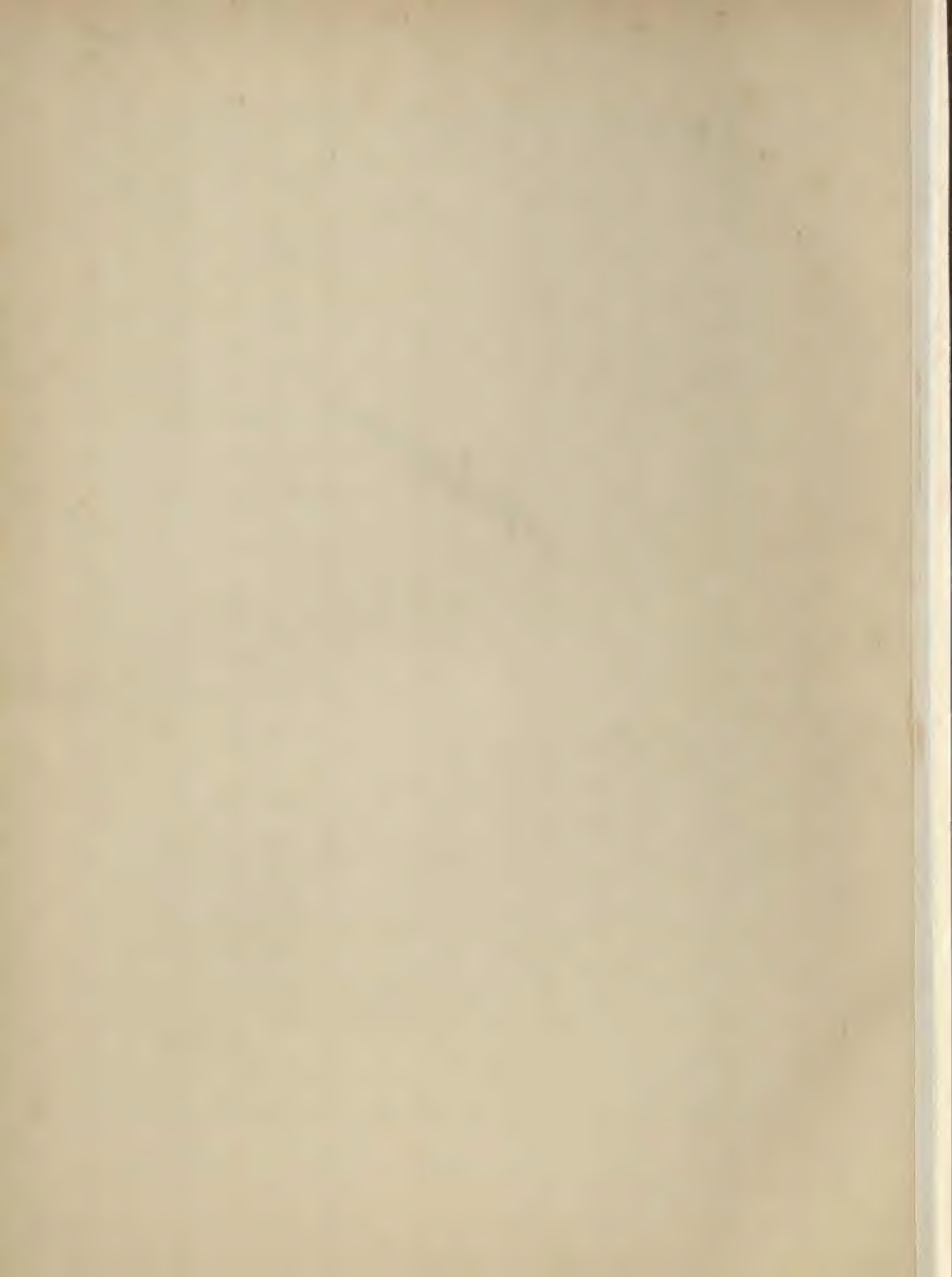
LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Left: The right jamb. *Right:* The left jamb.

With regard to the representation, cf. Plate 50.

Photo: India Office.





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SANCHI

Northern Gate of the Great Stūpa. Details of the Left Jamb.

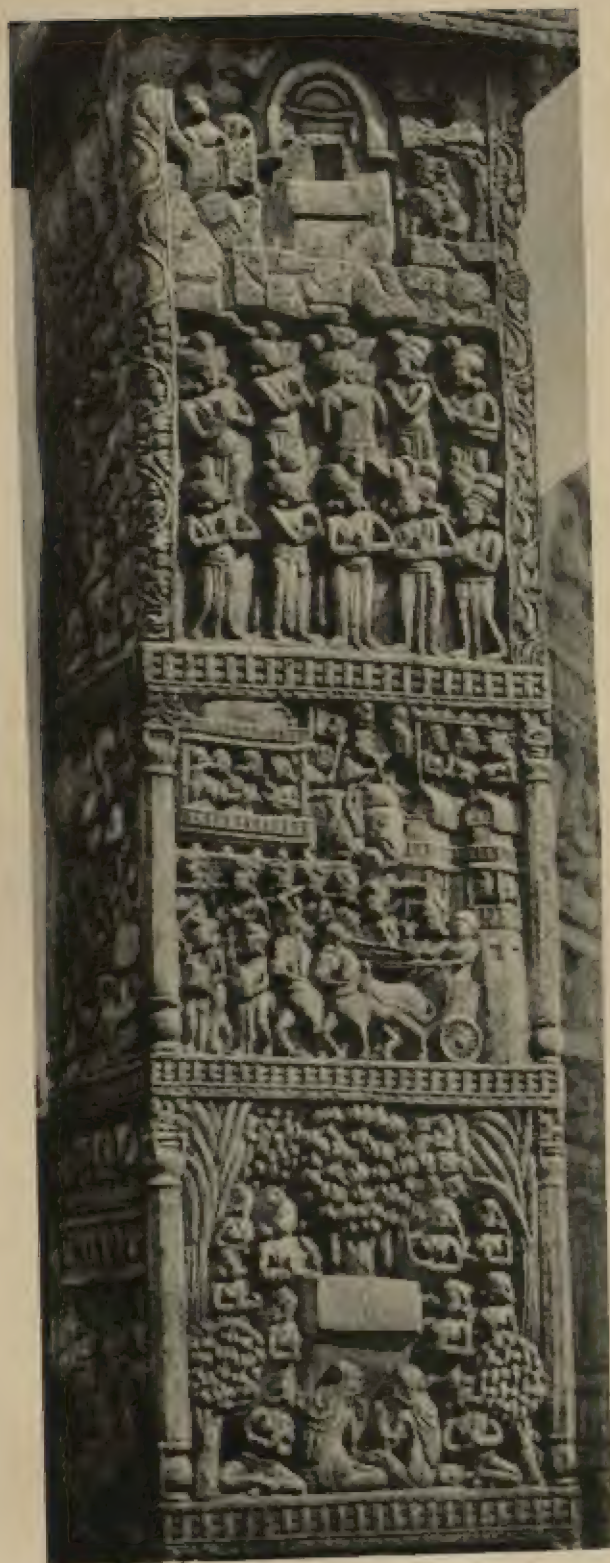
LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Left: Inner Side. Upper panel: Indra visits the Buddha in the Indrasaila cave near Rajagriha. The cave is represented as a rock temple. Second panel: A King, probably Bimbisara or Ajatasatru, leaves Rajagriha. Third panel: The bamboo grove Venuvana, near Rajagriha.

Right: Outside.

Photo: India Office.

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61

YAKṢI OF BESNAGAR

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

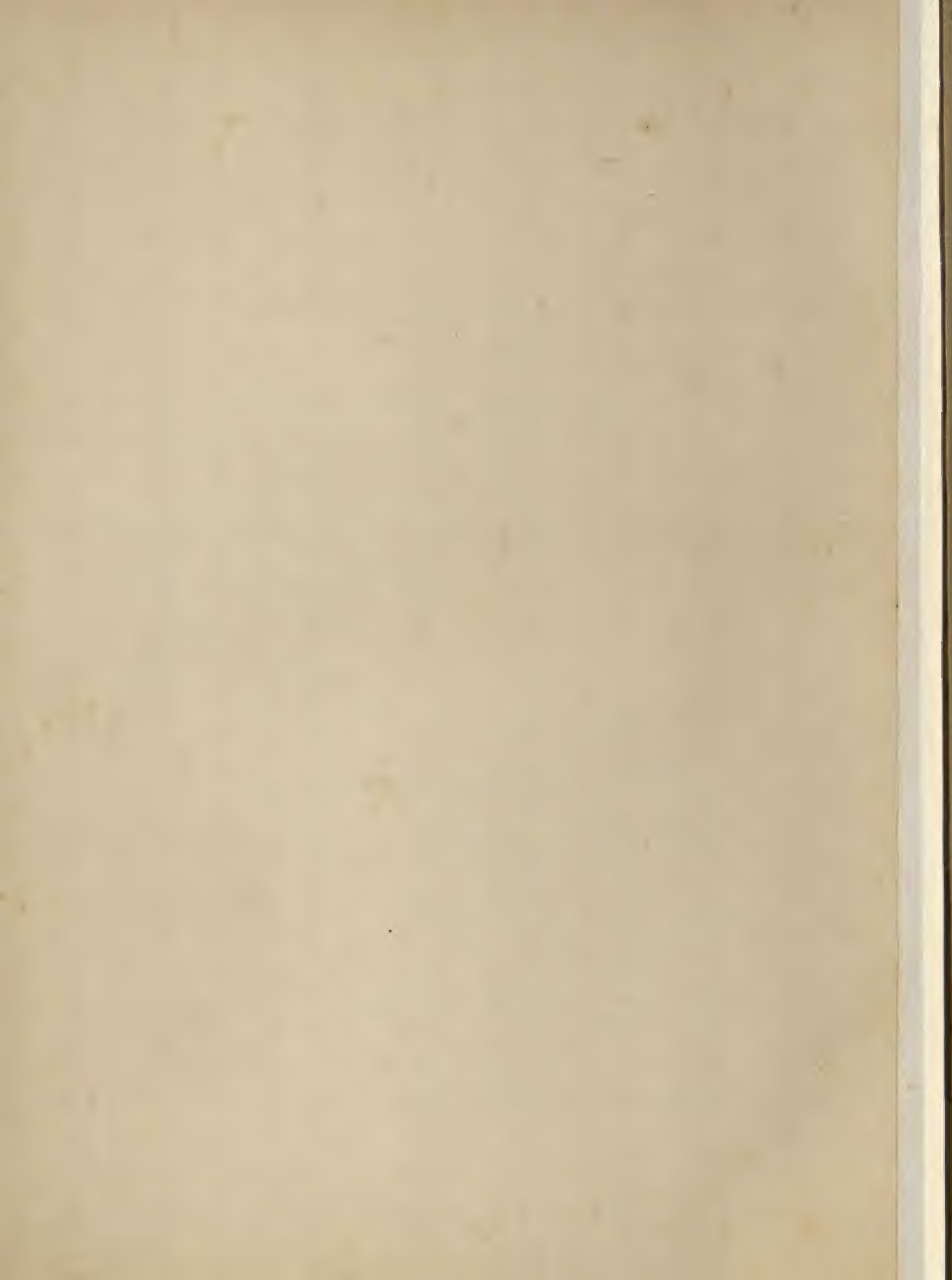
Height: 1.90 m.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.

10





MANIBHADRA YAKṢA

Pawaya (Gwalior).

LATTER HALF OF THE I CENTURY B.C.

Sandstone.

Life size.

Gwalior Museum.

Photo: D.G.A.S.I.



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